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LETTERS

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

LETTERS

FROM THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

&c.

NAPOLEON.

PRINTED FOR JAMES WIDGAT, PICCADILLY.

S. GOSNELL, Printer, Little Queen Street, London.

LETTERS

CAFE OF GOOD HOPE

IN THE

LETTERS

FROM THE

EXTRACTS FROM THE GREAT WORK

CAFE OF GOOD HOPE

&c

NAPOLEON

BY

AND

LONDON

PRINTED FOR JAMES WILKINSON, PICCADILLY

S. Gosnell, Printer, Little Queen Street, London.

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LETTERS

FROM THE

TO THE BOOKSELLER.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

IN REPLY TO

MR. WARDEN;

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WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE GREAT WORK

Now compiling for Publication

UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

NAPOLEON.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1817.

LETTERS

FROM THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

IN REPLY TO

MR. WARDEN;

BIBLIOTHECA

REGIA

MONACENSIS

EXTRACTS FROM THE GREAT WORK

Now compiling for Publication

UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

NAPOLÉON.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1817.

TO THE BOOKSELLER.

IMPORTANT as every *authentic* information regarding the memorable events of the last twenty years must be, not only as supplying materials for history, but also as affording gratification in the passing hour, it becomes a matter of deep regret that writers who pretend to instruct mankind by their statements, should, on the contrary, generate error; and that authority should lend itself to the extension of misrepresentations and prejudices.

Feelings of this painful nature have been excited elsewhere, as well as in England, not only by the perusal of Mr. Warden's publication, which, coming from a person whose recent situation, and the opportunities enjoyed, were not ill calculated to de-

ceive the most wary, but also by the laboured and artful representations of *pretended present indulgences* from a higher quarter, *one*, where we should have hoped no guile could be found.

In order, however, to prevent the growth of error in both cases, certain portions, as far as is necessary for that purpose, of the *Historical Memoirs of Napoleon*, have been selected from the great work in preparation, and have been thrown together in a series of Letters, as an antidote to assertions of ignorance and artifice; and are such as, in point of interest and matter, cannot fail to gratify the curiosity of the Public. In this view I submit them to you for the press. I lament that a necessity should have existed for any partial publication of this sort; the more so, as additional impediments may in consequence be raised to the progress of the History alluded to in the title; and, if possible, a still more rigorous and vexatious system of confinement be put in execution

towards its illustrious object: but *truth and justice* require it. The Public will naturally be anxious to know the source whence this account is derived; but, as the *matter* will distinctly show that it can *only* proceed from the *fountain-head*, the importance of the intermediate agency is lessened; and, besides, were it avowed, an aggravated visitation of cruel and needless tyranny would probably be the consequence.

Yours, &c.

C—.

Cape of Good Hope.

*The attention of BOTANISTS is invited to the
following Work.*

This Day, NOVEMBER the 1st, 1817, was published,

Price 4s.

(TO BE CONTINUED MONTHLY,)

In Latin and English,

No. XXXIII.

OF

The Botanical Register.

Each Number will contain Eight coloured Figures of
Exotic Plants, accompanied by their History and
Mode of Treatment.—The Designs to be made from
living Plants,

BY SYDENHAM EDWARDS, F. L. S.

Late Designer to the Botanical Magazine.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The aim of this Work is to record in succession, and
make scientifically known, such exotic flowers as shall be
thought most likely to interest those who cultivate them for
amusement or profit, or study them with a view to science.
No drawings will be published, but such as are made from
the gardens, nurseries, and botanical establishments of this
country; and the collection that has supplied the plant will
be always mentioned. Mr. Edwards will be at all times ready
to publish such plants of the above description, as any well-
wisher to the undertaking may think proper to send to him,
No. 5, Barrosa Place, Queen's Elm, for that purpose; and
he requests permission to repeat that he has no longer any
connexion with THE BOTANICAL MAGAZINE.

In the Press, and speedily will be published,
HORTUS SUBURBANUS LONDINENSIS;

OR, A

CATALOGUE of PLANTS CULTIVATED in the NEIGHBOUR-
HOOD of LONDON, and arranged according to the Linnean
System; to which are added, the Natural Order to which they
belong—in what Books described—their native Place of
Growth—when introduced—their Time of Flowering—and
References to the Works where figured.

By BOBERT SWEET, *Fellow of the Linnean Society.*

LETTERS,

&c.

Cape of Good Hope,
21st of April 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

IN my retreat, I have received a small volume of Letters, written by Mr. Warden, the Surgeon of His Britannic Majesty's ship the Northumberland: you inform me that this work has already passed through several editions, and that, for a series of years, no other publication has so much excited the curiosity of the public. You desire to know my opinion as to the authenticity and truth of its details. I have read it with interest. I was well acquainted with Mr. Warden, both on board of the Northumberland and at St. Helena, and esteem-

ed him a man of talent ; he was particularly noticed for the ardent curiosity which he displayed for every thing concerning Napoleon ; but not understanding either French or Italian, the only modern languages spoken by the great man in question, he consequently had no other opportunity of learning what he relates, than either by means of the interpretation of Count de las Casas, who, having lived some years in England, understands our language, although he speaks it very incorrectly, and with considerable hesitation; or of General Bertrand, who possesses the facility of speaking it in a lesser degree than even the other. Amongst all the French embarked, Madame Bertrand is the only one who speaks English with facility, and with an accurate pronunciation. This simple observation would of itself be sufficient to enable you to form a correct judgment as to the exactness of Mr. Warden's relations. It would be unnecessary for me to add any more ; but you wish to have some details : you ask me a number of questions, and answer I must. Certainly, I cannot plead want of time as an excuse for not complying with your re-

quest, as I have been, for some months past, at the Cape upon business, which is likely to detain me still longer—and the oppressive heat of the season, together with the clouds of dust, oblige me to remain in doors the greater part of the day; and my attention, instead of being occupied by the late interview between Guiaka, the graceful Caffre chief, and Lord Charles Somerset, will be sufficiently employed in furnishing you with the particulars you require. As Mr. Warden's work is divided into eight Letters, I will adopt the same plan; each of mine will contain such observations as the perusal of the corresponding one of his relation may suggest to me; to which I will add, also, some new anecdotes, in order, as far as lies in my power, to gratify your curiosity.

It is not unknown to you, that a long residence in France has rendered the language of that country familiar to me, and enabled me both to understand it well, and speak it fluently. I have also had frequent opportunities of cursorily running over manuscripts of the greatest interest relative to the memorable events of the last twenty years, a part of which was even written

from the dictation of *Napoleon* himself, by the officers of his suite.

During the passage in the Northumberland, I have had the honour, once or twice a week, of holding a conversation of some minutes' duration with Napoleon; and a day never elapsed, without my having had *many* with the officers of his suite. At St. Helena I frequently breakfasted with Madame Bertrand; and twice I had an interview of more than a quarter of an hour each time with Napoleon himself. I was also particularly intimate with Count de las Casas, whom I have often seen at the Briars, and in his own apartment at Longwood.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

LETTER I.

Cape of Good Hope,

22d of April 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

DURING a visit which I paid to Longwood in January 1816, I had an opportunity of perusing a manuscript, in which were related the principal events that occurred in France, from the time of Napoleon's disembarkation in the Gulf of St. Juan until his arrival on board of the Northumberland. I have some reason to believe, that this manuscript has been since printed, and consequently not unknown to you. In it you will have seen described the motives and circumstances which decided him to abdicate, and proceed on board the Bellerophon at Rochefort, and how much he was gratified and pleased with the conduct both of Sir Henry Hotham and Captain Maitland towards him. You will also have seen described the mode of life which he adopted under such strange circumstances, both du-

ring the passage and the short time the ship stayed at Torbay and Plymouth, where he was allowed to remain only twenty days. My remarks upon the decision which took place then, I shall reserve for some future opportunity. To the profound impression which that simple and artless narrative must have produced upon your mind, I can add nothing : it appears to me, however, that the author has forgotten to insert in it Napoleon's Letter to the Prince Regent ; and although this letter has been already published, I have thought proper to give it you here, as I had it from an officer who copied it from the original ; it strongly manifests the confidence which Napoleon had in our laws, our constitution, and the grandeur of our natural character.

“ ALTESSE ROYALE,

“ En butte aux factions qui divisent mon
 “ pays, et à l'inimitié des principales puis-
 “ sances de l'Europe ; j'ai terminé ma car-
 “ rière politique, je viens comme Thémis-
 “ tocle m'asséoir sur le foyer Britannique ;
 “ je me mets sous la protection de ses lois
 “ que je réclame de votre Altesse Royale

“comme au plus puissant, au plus constant,
 “et au plus généreux de mes ennemis.

“NAPOLEON.

“Rochefort, 13 Juillet 1815.”

After having gone through the ceremony of being disarmed, which to many appeared to be very unnecessary, and being declared a prisoner, he arrived on board the Northumberland on the fourth of August 1815, where, for the first time, I saw him. The same afternoon, he had a conversation with Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton for about an hour, which has been extremely incorrectly related in the newspapers. In the evening he spoke with considerable interest of Lord Lowther's manner, and of the sentiments which he had manifested; and made himself acquainted with his name and quality. Whilst on board of the Northumberland, Napoleon was not exactly addressed (in speaking to him) by the title of General, to which appellation he always declared he would not have answered; and Mr. Warden was too curious, and too anxious to obtain some degree of intimacy with him, to allow himself to commit an

action which he knew would offend him. Undoubtedly in the Government official dispatches he was always so styled ; but otherwise it was avoided as much as possible.

“ The validity,” said General Montholon, “ of the Emperor’s right to have worn
 “ the Imperial purple, has been acknowledged by every power ; and with respect
 “ to a party lately sprung up in Europe, denominated the *Legitimate Party*, the object of it is, in opposition to the Holy
 “ Scriptures, to the laws and practices of
 “ the church, to the maxims of religion, and
 “ to the events of past ages, to persuade
 “ nations, that they belonged by divine
 “ right, and to all eternity, to some dozen of
 “ families ! When David,” continued he,
 “ dethroned the house of Saul, and succeeded to him, was he legitimate ? David,
 “ who declared, ‘ I esteem myself as king
 “ only by unction.’

“ In France,” he added, “ several families have succeeded to the throne, and
 “ have formed different dynasties, either by
 “ the pleasure of the people, represented
 “ by the assemblies in the Champ de Mars,
 “ the Champ de Mai, or by parliaments

“ composed of the bishops and barons, who
 “ at that time constituted the nation. In
 “ your own country,” continued he, “ how
 “ many different houses have followed each
 “ other ! The house of Hanover, which
 “ succeeded the Stuarts, reigns now, be-
 “ cause your grandfathers would have it so ;
 “ and because it was necessary for the pre-
 “ servation of their interests and their poli-
 “ tical and religious opinions. Your old
 “ men have seen the last branch of the
 “ Stuarts make a descent upon Scotland,
 “ where he was supported by those whose
 “ interests and opinions were conformable
 “ to those of the Stuarts ; but he was re-
 “ pulsed and expelled by the great majority
 “ of the British nation, whose new interests
 “ and new opinions were in opposition to
 “ his and to those of his family.

“ Napoleon,” he added, “ was chosen
 “ Emperor of the French—chosen by the
 “ people, as being the only person who
 “ could preserve the interests and opinions
 “ of France ; consecrated not only by the dif-
 “ ferent religious authorities, but also by the
 “ head of the Catholic religion, the Pope ;
 “ acknowledged by all the powers of Europe,

“ even by England, which last acknowledg-
 “ ed him as First Consul and Head of the
 “ French Republic for life. Lord Whit-
 “ worth was furnished with credentials, and
 “ lived as ambassador at the court of the
 “ Tuilleries, and Count Andréossy in a
 “ similar capacity at that of St. James.
 “ And afterwards, in 1806, Lord Lauderdale
 “ was furnished with credentials as plenipo-
 “ tentiary from the King of Great Britain to
 “ treat for peace with Napoleon, as Empe-
 “ ror: this act in itself, was an acknow-
 “ ledgment of him as Emperor. In 1814,
 “ Lord Castlereagh, by signing, at Chatillon,
 “ the ultimatum, again acknowledged him,
 “ in common with all Europe, as Emperor
 “ of the French.

“ In order,” continued he, “ to autho-
 “ rize your government to style him General,
 “ it was necessary that they should never
 “ have acknowledged him as head of the
 “ French republic for life; that Lords Lau-
 “ derdale and Castlereagh should never have
 “ recognised him as Emperor of the French;
 “ and also, that the object of the war had
 “ been, to oblige them to such an acknow-
 “ ledgment, a circumstance which certainly

“ was never even thought of, or at least
 “ never alleged, as being the object sought
 “ for, or as being the cause of the continu-
 “ ation of the war. You certainly are not
 “ authorized to acknowledge Joseph as King
 “ of Spain, because his nomination as such,
 “ was always held up as being the cause of
 “ the war which actually existed in Spain,
 “ and which prevented the opening of nego-
 “ tiations. For Napoleon to allow himself
 “ to be called *General*,” added he, “ would
 “ be tacitly admitting, that the French re-
 “ public and that the fourth dynasty had
 “ never existed. But even in the extraor-
 “ dinary position of things, recourse might
 “ have been had to a measure which was
 “ suggested, and which would have prevent-
 “ ed all these troublesome controversies;
 “ for example, to have called him Napoleon,
 “ or to have given him some incognito name.
 “ But,” continued he, “ it is only adding
 “ outrage to outrage, towards an extraordi-
 “ nary man, who has encircled himself with
 “ so many crowns, and who has placed
 “ upon royal thrones the houses of Bavaria,
 “ of Saxony, and of Wirtemberg. Is it
 “ not to him,” continued he, “ that your

“own house of Hanover is indebted, for
 “the royal crown for which you exchanged
 “your electoral cap?”

On board the Northumberland, Napoleon's wants were so few, as to excite the surprise of the crew, who declared that he gave less trouble than a simple lieutenant would have done; indeed, as the French observed, he was *impassible*. He sometimes passed a great part of the night and morning in reading and writing, without stirring out of his apartment. He breakfasted there about ten o'clock; at about four in the afternoon, he generally went into the great cabin, and played at chess; at five the Admiral commonly made his appearance in the cabin, from whence they proceeded to another, to dinner. He appeared to have been in the habit of remaining a very short time at dinner, probably a quarter of an hour: in order, however, to conform a little to our customs, he generally sat for about half an hour; he then got up, and went upon the quarter-deck, accompanied by General Bertrand and Count Las Casas, where he walked to and fro, for a few turns, and occasionally seated himself upon one of the

quarter-deck guns. An hour or more afterwards, the officers and the rest of his suite rose from table. After a short conversation, he retired to his cabin, and generally, between nine and ten o'clock, into his own apartment. Such was his uniform life. Having frequently dined in company with him, I observed that he ate heartily, and extremely fast—that his ordinary beverage was claret, diluted with two thirds water—that he merely scented and moistened his lips with the liqueur presented to him, which I thought, at first, a strange and whimsical custom; on inquiry, I found that his sense of smelling was extremely acute, which was his motive for doing so. He appeared to suffer some inconvenience from the smell of the paint during the passage in the Northumberland, in consequence of this peculiar delicacy of smell.

When walking on the deck, he generally spoke to the officer of the watch, the master, or the parson. He appeared sometimes desirous of being present while the master was making his observations; he frequently asked questions of Messrs. Warden and O'Meara, respecting the health of the crew,

or upon some medical points, upon which he likes to converse, as being a science of nature. With the parson he discoursed upon the dogmas and regulations of the different religious sects in England; and frequently he spoke to the captain of marines, who had been under the orders of Sir Sidney Smith, at Acre, of the siege of that place. So far, the picture which Mr. Warden has drawn of him, is generally correct. From the catastrophe which befel his army at Waterloo, to the period of his arrival off St. Helena, his officers assert that he did not betray the least ill-humour, impatience, or depression of spirits; and I think that his appearance and habits have been very accurately portrayed by our countryman. When he speaks, he interrogates, and is much fonder of asking questions than of answering. In consequence of having been so long in the habit of receiving a great number of people of different professions, he is accustomed to talk to every one of that particular profession to which he belongs. I saw him once in St. Helena speak for upwards of half an hour to an old Siamese slave, in whose conversation he even appeared to experience some gratifi-

cation. His marked attention to return the salute of the lowest classes, and even of the slaves, appeared to me, at first, to be a piece of affectation; but I was informed that such had been invariably his custom, that he had declared it was the duty of a Sovereign to return alike the salute to all men, because, in his eyes, all men had equal rights.

The ship's company appeared to have contracted a degree of friendship for him. I observed that he was very much gratified by the attention paid to him by the midshipmen, in forming a kind of guard of honour round him, when the ship was manœuvring, in order to prevent his being incommoded by any of the sailors running against him. I was present one day, when a smart young gentleman, son to General Sir Robert Wilson, was pointed out to him (with the writings of whose father he was well acquainted): I did not, however, observe any other emotion than a smile, excited in his countenance.

I hasten to finish this long letter, by observing, that, in a discussion which took place some months past, Napoleon, on be-

ing informed that a similar assertion had been made to that of Mr. Warden, relative to his having been *induced* to abdicate, in consequence of Fouche's having presented to him a counterfeit letter from Prince Metternich, regarding the intentions of Austria with respect to his son, declared that such an assertion was *unfounded* and *ridiculous*, and added, that he was astonished from whence it had originated. The reasons which induced him to abdicate, as well as the secret and separate negotiations of both Russia and Austria at that epoch, are related with so much force and clearness in the work to which I have before alluded, that I can add nothing more to it.

I cannot say that I recollect Mr. Warden's having been in the habit of holding long conversations with Napoleon, while in the Northumberland, but I observed that the latter always received him with pleasure, and with a smile. His mouth is the most expressive part of his physiognomy, and that which best depicts the different affections of his mind.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

LETTER II.

Cape of Good Hope,
28th of April 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

IN running over the second Letter, I observe with pleasure that my task will be short: this is principally occupied by the relations of a conversation said to have been held with Madame Bertrand concerning Talleyrand. As that lady speaks English perfectly well, nothing can be alledged upon the score of miscomprehension. But has not Mr. Warden rather too minutely repeated expressions, to which at that time Madame Bertrand probably did not attach any importance, and which she suffered to escape from her lips, certainly without ever imagining that they would appear in print?

According to the opinions of the French, and their Chief, at Longwood, Talleyrand is a man of considerable talent; cunning, artful, and discreet, but entirely void of prin-

ciple : his attention, like his heart, constantly fixed upon Fortune's wheel. If you were desirous of ascertaining his sentiments, and questioned him, he was impenetrable ; his countenance as unchangeable as marble : but take him at two o'clock in the morning, after sitting up in company, you had no more to do than to listen patiently, and suffer him to talk, without appearing to be desirous of sifting him, he was then a babbling old woman, allowing the most important state secrets to escape him, and guilty of numberless indiscretions. He incurred Napoleon's displeasure and disgrace, and was deprived by him of the direction of Foreign Affairs, in consequence of reiterated complaints from the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, of the shameful corruption which prevailed in the cabinet of the Tuilleries, and because no connexions or treaties could be formed, without previously securing his patronage, by means of large bribes. Napoleon, after having frequently expressed his discontent at this conduct, perceiving, at last, that he was incorrigible ; and being, moreover, struck with the stain which such practices would cast

upon his government, deprived him of his *portefeuille*. Talleyrand, however, extremely cunning, contrived to soften the blow he had received: and, although he no longer enjoyed the direction of Foreign Affairs, still preserved sufficient credit to be appointed one of those who proceeded to Erfurth in 1807, in quality of Grand Chamberlain, which he united to the rank of Vice Grand Elector; and there he contrived to bring about the marriage of one of his nephews with the young Duchess of Courland. A short time afterwards, being seized with the usual malady of discarded ministers, he intrigued in every direction, in order to be again employed, and to form a ministry in his own interests. The appointment of Remusat, the First Chamberlain, to be Minister of the Interior, greatly offended him, and was the cause of his losing his situation of Grand Chamberlain, the functions of which were indeed incompatible with those of Vice Grand Elector.

Mr. Warden is correct in stating that Talleyrand was the first who proposed the measures which were afterwards adopted in Spain. To this effect he had long confer-

ences with the Señor Isquierdo; and, during Napoleon's excursion to Fontainebleau in 1807, he explained his projects to him. As he was not at that time intrusted with any employment, the courtiers were astonished at the frequent interviews which took place, and lost themselves in conjectures of what could be the cause of this return of favour towards him. In his projects for a change of dynasty in Spain, Talleyrand is asserted to have had two objects particularly in view—a desire to enter again into the direction of affairs; and a hope of increasing his already immense fortune. In February 1812, he was selected to proceed to Dresden, and from thence to Warsaw, in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, in order to direct the insurrection and confederation of Poland.

This mission, which was one of the greatest importance, procured him several marks of favour, and Napoleon frequently detained him in the evenings for a considerable time during the months of March and April, as Talleyrand, being a very late riser, never appeared at the levee. Meanwhile, however, the French ambassador at Vienna

wrote word, that a singular rumour agitated the public mind there, and had produced a great effect upon the exchange, viz. that a credit of a hundred thousand crowns, payable at Warsaw, had been demanded for the Prince of Benevento. This evidently proved that Talleyrand still kept to his old stock-jobbing manœuvres, and made Napoleon so extremely indignant, that he was neither sent to Dresden, nor intrusted with the Polish concerns; a circumstance rendered still more mortifying to him, as he had had in view the re-establishing the ducal coronet of Courland for his nephew, who was married to the Duchess of Courland, Dame du Palais to the Empress.

I have read a speech of Talleyrand's, while Minister of the Directory, justifying the fête of the 21st of January, as the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. which horrible ceremony he asserted to be just, political, and necessary. He also endeavoured to persuade Napoleon to assist at it in 1798; to which he had displayed a great degree of repugnance.

It is said, that during the negotiation of the Concordat, Napoleon was considerably

interested for Talleyrand, and wanted to get him made a Cardinal, which would have been the most effectual mode of restoring a small portion of character to him; but the Ex-bishop refused to consent to it; and shortly afterwards Madame Grand, his mistress, came and threw herself at Napoleon's feet, and begged permission from him to marry Talleyrand; this he refused to allow at first; however, Madame Grand having contrived to interest Josephine in her behalf, the marriage took place. This lady having subsequently formed a close connexion with St. Foix, and other agents of corruption, and having received large sums of money, in order to influence the opinion of the cabinet with respect to the different concerns of Genoa and other Italian states, was in disgrace with Napoleon, and no longer received at Court; and solicited in vain to be permitted to assist at the fête given at the celebration of the marriage of the Archduchess Marie Louise.

These three events greatly altered Talleyrand's disposition towards Napoleon. Nevertheless, he was constant in his attendance at Court. In 1814, Napoleon, at the mo-

ment of his departure for the army, at first intended to exile him to his estates, considering that his presence at Paris might, under the existing circumstances, be productive of inconvenience; but the Arch-Chancellor Cambaceres, and Savary, Minister of Police, who had been influenced by Talleyrand, interceded with so much effect, that they succeeded in obtaining permission for him to remain in Paris. Besides, Talleyrand is said to have been greatly despised, and to have lost the confidence of all parties, with none of whom he had any influence.

It appears that the same cunning on his part has succeeded with Louis XVIII. ; and that, after having been the directing minister of affairs, when Louis thought proper to call the Duc de Richelieu into his cabinet, Talleyrand managed to maintain himself at Court, by means of the same office of Grand Chamberlain, which he contrived to have bestowed on him.

I perceive also in this Letter some details relative to the conduct of Massena at the battle of Esling, which are entirely unfounded. Massena never commanded at the

side where that village was, but at the village of Gros Aspern : it could not, therefore, have been by him that the attack made upon Esling was sustained. I have been informed by an eye-witness, that the attack upon that spot, which decided the day in favour of the French, was owing to General Rapp, and above all to Count Lobau, who displayed great bravery, and was dangerously wounded.

Most of the details in this Letter are very suspicious, and I am inclined to think that Mr. Warden has misunderstood conversations held with foreigners possessing a very imperfect knowledge of English. Where, for example, could he learn that Napoleon had been aide-de-camp to General Montholon's father ? He is also wrong in stating that Generals Montholon and Gourgand were aide-de-camps to Napoleon, as neither of them was ever employed in that capacity.

It is to be lamented, that people are exposed to have their opinions respecting living characters printed, without their concurrence. My own journal is filled with similar conversations ; but, certainly, I should have some scruples in publishing other

people's sentiments concerning persons still in existence.

You will probably feel some pleasure in having anecdotes concerning persons no longer alive. In the manuscripts I have already mentioned, I have seen several, the result of mature discussion, and of assertions reiterated in different conversations.

Labeledoyère (the same who joined Napoleon at Grenoble with his regiment) is represented as a young man possessed of noble sentiments, animated by the love of glory, and by the contempt which he entertained for the Bourbons, whom he conceived to be imposed upon his country by foreign bayonets. He is described as having declared himself in a moment of the greatest danger, with the noblest freedom and courage, and as having been possessed with sentiments of real attachment, even to enthusiasm, for Napoleon.

Ney is represented as having been perhaps the *bravest* man in the French army, but as one who had little education or information: that in presence of Napoleon he was extremely submissive, and circumspect in his language; although, out of it, he

sometimes allowed himself to make use of unguarded expressions. The language which it has been asserted he held to Napoleon at Fontainebleau is denied by Generals Bertrand and Gourgand, who were both present, and who further declare, that the troops were so much enraged against their betrayers, that at the slightest gesture they would have massacred Ney.

It is stated, that Ney was sincere in his protestations to the King on the 8th of March 1815, and that he was entirely ignorant of what was going on at Elba; and that even until the 13th of March, he was faithful to the King. After reading the proclamations from the Gulf of St. Jean, the addresses from Grenoble and the different towns in Dauphiny, of Lyons, and the towns of the Lyonnaise; from the troops in Grenoble and Lyons; and the news of the precipitate flight of Monsieur and the Princes; of the defection of all the regiments that were to compose his army, except four, who were at Lons le Saulnier with him; considering also the determination, loudly expressed even by them, to assume the tri-color cockade; a witness of the

extraordinary movements which agitated all the peasants and all the communes of Franche Comté, whose joy and exultation, as well as that which was manifested by all the peasants of the surrounding provinces of Lorraine, Alsace, Burgundy, and Champagne, knew no bounds, Ney began to waver, was led away, and his old principles prevailed ; so that he gave himself up to his former affections.

On the 13th of March he received from General Bertrand (who then performed the duties of Major-general) an order to put his troops in motion, with a letter from Napoleon himself, composed of the following lines, viz. " My cousin Bertrand sends you
 " orders to put yourself in motion. I have not
 " the least doubt, but that the moment you
 " heard of my arrival at Lyons, you caused
 " the tri-color flag to be mounted by my
 " troops. Obey his orders, and meet me
 " at Chalons ! I will receive you as I did
 " the day after Elchingen and Moskwa."

Ney could hold out no longer against all these circumstances ! On the morning of the 14th, he assembled his four regi-

ments, and read to them the well-known proclamation, which, at the same time, was posted up and sent to every place under his orders. The proclamation was composed entirely by himself, and contained his own sentiments. It appears, that, conceiving matters to be decided, he wanted to assume some merit to himself. The opinion prevalent amongst the French at Longwood is, that if Ney had declared himself five days sooner, and whilst the French Princes were still at Lyons, his conduct must have been regarded in the same light as that of Labedoyère; but that at the moment the proclamation was made, Ney had in fact no longer any control, and consequently violated all ideas of public decency needlessly. It would have been much better for him to have left the four regiments at Lons le Saulnier, to their own impulse, and to have returned himself to Paris; to declare what was strictly true, “that he could not resist the will of the people and the troops!” At the time that he sent his proclamation to Bertrand, he accompanied it with a letter to Napoleon, in which he said, “that if the conduct which

“ he had pursued the year before, had tended
 “ to deprive him of his confidence, he was
 “ ready to retire to his estate.” Napoleon,
 not over-well inclined towards him, and dis-
 gusted by the terms of the proclamation, had,
 as I have been informed, dictated a letter ac-
 cepting his resignation; but political consider-
 ations, not very difficult to be comprehended,
 overruled his first intention, and an order
 was sent him to join at Auxerre. Ney,
 on his arrival, is stated to have been ex-
 tremely embarrassed, and not in a state of
 mind to hold such language as has been at-
 tributed to him ; but Napoleon treated him
 in the manner he had been always accus-
 tomed to do, and even called him frequently
 the “ *bravest of the brave.*” After this,
 he was commissioned to inspect all the
 strong places upon the frontiers, which he
 did, from Dunkirk to Strasbourg, and then
 assisted at the Champ de Mai.

Ney's conduct has been compared with
 that of Marshal Turenne, in 1649, who then
 had the command of the King's army in Al-
 sace, to which he had been appointed by
 Anne of Austria, Regent of France. He
 had taken the oath of fidelity to the King, and,

notwithstanding this, he tampered with, and endeavoured to corrupt his army—declared himself for the “*Fronde*,” and marched upon Paris, thus betraying his King and breaking his oath. Being declared guilty of high treason by the King, his army repented, returned to their duty, and abandoned him. Turenne, when pursued, fled to the Prince of Hesse, in order to take refuge from the hands of justice, accompanied by only six of his friends. Ney was led away by the unanimous voice of his army, and by that of the people; he had not acknowledged, otherwise than by force, and only since nine months, a Sovereign imposed upon France by 600,000 foreign bayonets—and which Sovereign had not accepted the constitution presented to him by the Senate, as the condition of his return, but who declared that he had reigned for *nineteen* years, thereby pronouncing all the preceding governments usurpations, and *his intention to attempt a counter-revolution*. Ney had been brought up in the principles of *the sovereignty of nations*, and had fought for twenty-five years to cause those principles to be acknowledged, during the contest,

rising from the ranks, to the post of Marshal. Ney's conduct, if not honourable, was at least in some degree justifiable; but that of Turenne was highly criminal, inasmuch as the "*Fronde*" was a party in alliance with Spain, with which power *his* King was at war, and because he was guided solely by his own interest, and that of his family, hoping to gain a sovereignty by the dismemberment of his country.

The defenders of Ney have asserted that Bertrand had assured him that England and Austria coincided with Napoleon, and that there was an understanding between them. This is denied by Bertrand, and asserted moreover to be contrary to the proclamations issued from the Gulf of St. Jean, and to the speeches then delivered: that in the proclamations it was stated *Napoleon would not be indebted to foreigners for any thing—but to the people and the army for all.* In the speeches pronounced during the route at Digne, Gap, Grenoble, Auxerre, Lyons, Ville-Franche, Chalons, and afterwards at Paris, he asserts that Napoleon constantly declared "that all his merit, in this great event, consisted in his having known how

“to appreciate duly the sentiments of
 “the people and the army; that *he had not*
 “*made any agreement with any foreign*
 “*prince, and that he would esteem it a*
 “*crime to make use of their interference in*
 “*the internal affairs of the country.*”

A curious conversation is said to have taken place, eight hours after Napoleon's landing at Cannes, between him and the Prince of Monaco, formerly first equerry to Josephine. It was at one o'clock in the morning—the moon had been up about half an hour. Napoleon was standing in the bivouac of his soldiers, with his back turned towards a small fire. The Prince of Monaco was presented, and immediately recognised him: until then, he had refused to give any credit to the report of his being there. “What,” said he, “Your Majesty
 “here! It is then useless for me to con-
 “tinue my route towards my principality.
 “A division of your army has without
 “doubt, ere now, taken possession of it.”
 —“And of what nation is that division,
 “pray?” —“It is impossible for me to
 “say,” replied the Prince; “perhaps Aus-
 “trians or English.” —“What! do you

“suppose me to be base enough to enter
 “France with a foreign army? No; you
 “behold it all—all are Frenchmen; and the
 “whole force does not amount to 3000 men:
 “they will march by in about an hour’s
 “time, and you may then go on to your
 “destination.” — “And to where do you
 “proceed in this manner?” — “To Paris.”
 Immediately afterwards, Napoleon made a
 signal, and the rest of the auditors retired,
 leaving them to converse together, which
 they did for nearly half an hour, about some
 persons of their acquaintance; but nothing
 further of the conversation has transpired.

A great many other circumstances are
 detailed in my Journal, from which I will
 extract a few words relative to Lavalette.
 Lavalette had been aid-de-camp to Napo-
 leon during the campaigns of Italy and
 Egypt. In the month of Fructidor, he was
 ordered to observe every thing which took
 place in Paris, and to give his General,
 immediate information of it. On the 18th
 of Brumaire, the situation of Director Ge-
 neral of Posts became vacant, by the no-
 mination of M. Gaudin (afterwards Duke
 of Gaeta) to be Minister of Finance, and

was filled for a short time by the Sieur Laforet : however, as it was deemed absolutely necessary that such an important situation should be occupied by a person who enjoyed Napoleon's *special* confidence, and as Laforet was too closely connected with Talleyrand, Lavalette was appointed to this place, then of great importance, and which subsequently became infinitely more so. The Minister of Police transmitted daily to Napoleon a report upon such events in the departments as had attracted his attention—the Prefect of Police gave in another, relative to such events as occurred in Paris : both of these magistrates had been in the habit of inserting in their bulletins long reviews of the state of the public spirit, drawn up during the passions and interests of the moment. Napoleon suppressed this custom, and ordered that they should confine themselves to matters of fact, without drawing any inferences or conclusions; nevertheless, being at the same time desirous of knowing intimately the public opinion upon the acts of his administration, he selected twelve reporters (men distinguished in literature)

out of the most opposite parties, amongst whom were some of the party of the Mountain, as well as that of the Gironde, of the Constitutionals of 1791, some who had emigrated and lived in England, and others who had served in Condé's army. These twelve persons received, through the medium of Lavalette, a salary of one thousand francs monthly, and transmitted directly to him once or twice a month (as they thought proper), a report, upon whatever subject, relative to the administration, the state of the public mind, or upon whatever might have taken place during the month. In order that these reporters might express themselves with more liberty and freedom, they directed their letters as if they were intended for Lavalette: he immediately put them into Napoleon's portefeuille, who, according to what I have learned, opened them directly, ran over their contents, and afterwards destroyed them, first making such extracts as he thought necessary from them, with his own hand. This was done in such a manner, that not even his most confidential se-

cretaries had any knowledge of this correspondence. General Bertrand assured me, that even he himself had been always totally ignorant of the names of the above-mentioned reporters, though he had occasionally suspected two or three individuals to belong to that number. Moreover, they were chosen from people who had no employments, and who were not in the habit of attending at Court. Napoleon never sent for them, and did not even know most of them by sight; and they themselves knew not whether their letters had been perused.

I have been assured that Lavalette was entirely uninformed of what was plotting at Elba, and that the reason he quitted his house in the middle of March, and concealed himself, was on account of his known attachment to Napoleon, which he was apprehensive would cause his being arrested as a hostage. In this conduct he was by no means singular, as a great number of persons, who were wholly unacquainted with what was going on, concealed themselves from similar motives.

Madame Lavalette (daughter of the Marquis Beauharnois, who, as well as his brother, the Viscount, was a member of the Constituent Assembly, was of the opposite party, and served in Condé's army during the time that his brother commanded the republican armies) was cousin to Eugene Beauharnois. She was extremely handsome, and was married to Lavalette, to whom she was partial, by desire of Napoleon, after his return from the first campaign of Italy, in 1798: she was afterwards Dame d'Atour to Josephine; and during that period the splendour of her charms was considerably impaired by the small-pox, though she is still a fine woman. She was of rather an indolent disposition; and of all the women of their acquaintance, the Longwood French declare, she was the last they would have supposed capable of the heroic action which has rendered her so deservedly illustrious.

I could extract from my Journal many more details concerning the characters who, of late, have occupied such a considerable portion of the public attention;

but this letter is already long enough, and I am afraid of fatiguing your attention concerning men, whose names ere long will be buried in oblivion.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

LETTER III.

Cape of Good Hope,
1st of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

IN reviewing Mr. Warden's third Letter, a more difficult task presents itself, and more important subjects are to be discussed. It is asserted in it that the Duke of Bassano was at the head of the conspiracy to bring back Napoleon into France; that numbers of individuals were dispatched from France to Elba; and that Napoleon was induced to think, that the English were determined to send him to St. Helena, &c. These accounts are entirely contrary to what I have read in any of the *Longwood* manuscripts; to what I have been told in different conversations with Marshal Bertrand, and learned, even from the mouth of Napoleon himself, who has been frequently heard to declare, "that in his return from
" Elba he had no other co-operator than
" *the Count d'Artois, his two sons, and his*
" *daughter-in-law*; that it was *their* mea-

“sures, and those which *they* inspired, to
 “the government at the Tuilleries, which
 “convinced him that they were insulated
 “in the midst of the nation, and had only
 “in their favour the Emigrant party and the
 “counter-revolutionists.” To one of the
 above-mentioned manuscripts, the following
 passage was prefixed by way of title: “One
 “of the former kings of Egypt ordered that
 “after his death his mummy should be
 “placed upon the throne of his fathers, in
 “the middle of the interior chamber of the
 “great Pyramid: where it remained exclud-
 “ed from the external air; and after a series
 “of years had gone by, on the priests of
 “Memphis penetrating into the interior of
 “the Pyramid, and on the admission of the
 “light, the mummy and its throne crumbled
 “into dust, being no longer fitted to resist
 “either the effects of the atmosphere or
 “the sun.”

In this same manuscript it is stated, that
 Napoleon was determined to go and replace
 himself upon the Imperial throne, from his
 own private impulse, and guided by the
 sole aspect of the acts of the Royal Go-
 vernment: that, in departing from Fon-

tainbleau in 1814, he said, "If the Bour-
 "bons govern as the chiefs of the fifth dy-
 "nasty, they will succeed; if, on the con-
 "trary, they endeavour to continue the
 "third, they will not remain long:" that
 before departing from Elba, several of his
 suite were desirous that he should inform
 himself of Massena's sentiments, who com-
 manded upon the coast where the disem-
 barkation was to be effected, and also how
 the General who commanded at Grenoble
 was affected towards him: that he, however,
 instantly rejected both propositions, saying,
 "If I have preserved the hearts of the people
 "and the army, they will soon bend to their
 "sovereign will the inclinations of all par-
 "ticular persons; if I have lost them, I have
 "nothing to hope from the influence of a
 "few individuals. It is by means of the
 "imagination and the opinions of great bo-
 "dies that I have always acted." His sub-
 sequent success, and the acclamations with
 which he was received by the people and
 the army, have surprised all the world. It is
 said that Marshal Soult (who, according
 to the above-mentioned manuscript, really

served the King faithfully) thought, when he first heard of the landing, that a few gens d'armes would be sufficient to defeat the attempt; or that Buonaparte would proceed to Italy; but that he afterwards confessed the events which had taken place, had been to him a revelation of the secret feelings of the nation and the army, of which he had not entertained the slightest idea before. Cambaceres, Savary, Fouche, Carnot, and several others, frequently expressed a similar opinion: they never doubted that Napoleon had a great many partisans; but they had not believed it possible that he could have arrived at Paris, in the manner he did, without firing a musket.

With respect to the supposed determination of the English cabinet, to remove Napoleon from Elba, in order to transfer him to St. Helena, it is stated, that this was asserted at the time in the English, and repeated in all the French, German, and Italian newspapers, as having been positively agreed upon, and had produced some uneasiness at Elba, and in consequence several forts were put in a state of defence, and the garrison-

ing and provisioning of that strong hold was completed. However, Colonel Campbell, our countryman, the commissioner appointed to watch Napoleon, came on purpose from Florence, in order to disavow such reports, and hold them up to contempt as false and absurd; but, at the same time, he dropped some remonstrances with respect to the occupation of Palmariola and Pianosa by Napoleon. Palmariola is a small rock, situated half way between Elba and Piombino, upon the former of which it is dependent. It is uninhabited, and produces nothing; upon the most elevated part there is a small tower fortified with four guns, and garrisoned by three invalids and a bombardier, who is *governor*. Pianosa is a little island, also dependent upon Elba, lying about midway between that and Corsica. It is a rock composed of coral, and covered with olives, and other different kinds of trees. It is about fifteen miles in circumference, and presents a level surface elevated to about twenty fathoms above the sea, but from fear of pirates it is uninhabited. Colonel Campbell insisted that these two islands had not been included in the grant, but he was rather con-

founded when General Bertrand showed him the deed of possession, in which Pianosa, Palmariola, and Monte Christo, were expressly named, and which had been signed by the commissioners of the allied powers. General Bertrand also reminded him that he had had the honour of *himself* accompanying Napoleon to take possession of Pianosa, and had made one of a hunting party in it. This appeared to throw some light upon the ulterior projects of the allied powers; but this step of Colonel Campbell's not having been taken until the beginning of February, the expedition from Elba had been then, it is stated, decided upon.

With respect to the treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon asserts that the allies did not adhere to it in any point (as you have seen so ably shown by Earl Grey, in his speech in the House of Lords), and that justice was entirely on his side. He affirms, that there were no less than ten material violations of the treaty on the part of the allies, which being curious to learn, I subsequently obtained and entered in my Journal, in the words of the person I heard them from. 1st. Passports were to have

been given to all Napoleon's family, in order to admit them to follow him ; but, notwithstanding this, his wife and son were seized and sent to Vienna. 2dly. He was to have been considered and treated as Emperor, and his wife as Empress ; but the French court would never acknowledge this condition ; on the contrary, Louis seated upon the throne at Paris, and his *pretended legitimate* party, had considered the Imperial government as an usurped one, had dated his acts in the 19th year of his reign, and acted as if Napoleon had never governed either as First Consul or Emperor. 3dly. Prince Eugene was to have had a sovereignty in Italy : this formed an article in the treaty of Fontainebleau ; but the Congress, by its own authority, excluded him from that, instigated, no doubt, by the *legitimate* party. 4thly. The Empress Marie Louise, and her son, were to have the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla : both were deprived of them by the Congress at Vienna, upon the same principle of *legitimacy*. 5thly. The army was to have preserved all the endowments assigned it upon the funds of the establishment at the Mount Napoleon ; which were,

however, all suppressed. 6thly. The island of Elba required troops to defend it, and produced nothing. The French Court was to pay Napoleon two millions for his own support, and that of the island. This article was violated; and several English travellers declared at Elba, that when present at different dinners, and amongst others at the Duke de Fleury's, they had heard it declared, that it *never had been intended to be paid, and never would be*; the papers asserted positively the same, *and in fact payment never was made.* 7thly. Napoleon's brothers and his mother had certain revenues assigned to them, which were never paid. 8thly. A rent-charge of one hundred thousand francs had been made upon the great book of France, to be paid to such persons as Napoleon thought proper. Assignments were accordingly made, which were refused to be entered upon the great book. 9thly. Napoleon's private property was to be preserved to him, and particularly the funds which had arisen from the savings made by him in the civil list. Now, all the funds arising from such savings, which amounted to a considerable sum, and had been placed in the

hands or the treasurer Labouellière, were seized upon, contrary to the spirit of the treaty, and all the requisitions made by Napoleon in his own private right were disregarded. 10thly. The private properties of Napoleon's family were to be respected: in violation of this condition, however, they were sequestered by the King. "Here, " then," said Las Casas, " are ten manifest " violations of the treaty made by the allies; " for which no justification can be offered; " but," continued he, " where is the right of " nations, or where is the treaty, which has " not been violated by the Congress of " Vienna? the controlling powers of which " were not actuated, either by the interests " or the happiness of Europe, but solely by " their own ambition."

I heard Napoleon converse several times on board of the Northumberland, with the captain of marines, about the siege of Acre, at which that officer was present. He appeared to discourse of it with that pleasure which is commonly experienced in relating past events, particularly those in which more or less danger had been encountered. I heard him relate a striking instance of devotion

manifested towards himself, by two of his guards, during that memorable siege. Being at the trenches, Napoleon sunk into a hole, made by a shell, which fell between his legs: two of his guards, named, I think, Dumesnil and Charbonet, ran up, grasped him, one before and the other behind, and remained in that position until the shell exploded, of which several fragments fell at his feet, without however hurting either himself or the brave fellows who had behaved so heroically. The failure of the attack is principally attributed to the capture of four xebecs laden with twelve 24 pounders, some mortars and ammunition, by the English squadron, at the moment they had entered the port of Caifa under Mount Carmel.

Several errors have crept into this Letter of Mr. Warden. It is there stated, that Napoleon had professed Mahometanism in Egypt through policy; this he denies ever to have done, and says that Menou was the only French officer of any distinction who embraced that religion. I have read in the Campaigns of Egypt, two very interesting chapters, one relative to the Christian reli-

gion and Mahometanism, full of novel ideas; and the other relative to the "*Fetham*" issued by the great Cheicks of Semil-Azar, concerning the oath of obedience, and in which are detailed the means by which he obtained this *Fetham* from the ministers of the grand mosque at Cairo; from both of which it appears, that Napoleon maintains as a principle, that in all matters above human comprehension, every one ought to continue in the religion of his forefathers, and in the bosom of which he was born. The following extracts were made from it relative to the deliberation of the sixty doctors of the mosque at Cairo and Semil-Azar.

"The Koran ordains, either to exterminate infidels, or to make them submit to tribute; it does not admit of either obedience or submission to an infidel power; which is contrary to the spirit of our holy religion: 'Render unto Cesar, the things which are Cesar's,' saith Jesus Christ; and elsewhere, '*My kingdom is not of this world: obey the powers.*' In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries the Christians ruled in Syria, but religion was the cause of constant wars. It was

“ a war of extermination. To it, Europe
 “ sent thousands of men, who there perish-
 “ ed. If such a spirit had animated the
 “ Egyptians, it would not have been pos-
 “ sible for twenty-five or thirty thousand
 “ Frenchmen, who, moreover, were not ani-
 “ mated by any fanaticism, but, on the
 “ contrary, greatly disgusted with the coun-
 “ try, to have maintained a similar contest.
 “ Although masters of Cairo and Alexan-
 “ dria, and victorious over the Mamelukes
 “ at the Pyramids, still the question of the
 “ conquest was not decided without first
 “ conciliating the Imams, the Muphtis, the
 “ Ulmas, and all the ministers of the Ma-
 “ hometan religion. The French army, from
 “ the time of the revolution, did not profess
 “ or practise *any* religion: even in Italy, the
 “ army never went to church. Advantage
 “ was taken of this circumstance. The French
 “ army was represented to the Mussulmen
 “ as an army of Catechumens, disposed to
 “ embrace the Mahometan religion. The
 “ Christian sects, Cophts, Greeks, Syrians,
 “ Latins, who were very numerous, wanted
 “ to profit by the presence of the French,
 “ in order to relieve themselves from the

“ different restrictions which had been im-
 “ posed upon their worship : Napoleon,
 “ however, opposed this, and took care to
 “ maintain religious matters upon the then
 “ existing footing. Every day at sunrise,
 “ the sixty Cheicks of the great mosque of
 “ Semil-Azar (a kind of Sorbonne) presented
 “ themselves at his levee. He there caused
 “ sherbet and coffee to be served to them,
 “ and loaded them with marks of esteem
 “ and consideration. He frequently con-
 “ versed at length with them, respecting
 “ the different circumstances of the life of
 “ their prophet, and of chapters of the Ko-
 “ ran. After his return from the battle at
 “ Salleis, he proposed to them to issue a
 “ *Fetham*, which should be read in all the
 “ mosques in Egypt, and in which the great
 “ Cheicks should order all the people to take
 “ an oath of obedience to him (Napoleon),
 “ whom they called Sultan Kiber. At the
 “ proposal they turned pale, and were greatly
 “ embarrassed. After some hesitation, the
 “ Cheick Sap Kao, a respectable old man,
 “ said to Napoleon, ‘ Why do you not be-
 “ come a Mussulman ; and make all your
 “ army do the same ? Then one hundred

“ thousand men would rush to your stan-
 “ dards; and, disciplined in *your* manner,
 “ you could soon re-establish the Arabian
 “ kingdom, and subdue the East? To
 “ this Napoleon objected *circumcision*, to
 “ which he could not submit his army;
 “ and, afterwards, the prohibition contained
 “ in the Koran, to drink wine, alledging
 “ that, being people from the North, such
 “ beverage was indispensably necessary to
 “ the French soldiers. After several discus-
 “ sions upon the subject, it was decided
 “ that the great Cheicks of Semil-Azar should
 “ unite together, and endeavour to find
 “ means to do away with the two above-
 “ mentioned obstacles. The disputes upon
 “ the question ran high, and lasted for three
 “ weeks; but the rumour which prevailed
 “ through all Egypt, that the great Cheicks
 “ were employed in concerting together
 “ measures, in order to render the army
 “ Mussulmen, filled the minds of the inha-
 “ bitants with joy, and the French soon
 “ experienced a great melioration in the
 “ public spirit, and were no longer consi-
 “ dered as infidels. When the Ulmas had
 “ agreed in opinion, four Muphtis brought

“ the *Fetham*, in which it was declared that
 “ *circumcision*, being only a *perfection*, was
 “ not indispensably necessary in order to
 “ be a Mussulman; that likewise Mussul-
 “ men might drink wine, and still be Mus-
 “ sulmen; but that, in this last case, there
 “ was no hope of Paradise in the next
 “ world. One half of the great *difficulty*
 “ was thus removed: but it was not easy to
 “ persuade the Muphtis that the latter part
 “ of their decision was unreasonable: to
 “ accomplish this, was the object of the
 “ discussions of six weeks more; finally,
 “ however, they issued a *Fetham*, declaring
 “ that it was possible to be a Mussulman,
 “ and drink wine, provided that, for every
 “ bottle of wine, so drank, some good ac-
 “ tion was performed. It was then agreed,
 “ that some time was requisite to prepare
 “ every thing necessary for this great event;
 “ accordingly, the plan of a mosque, larger
 “ than that of Semil-Azar, was sketched
 “ out, which Napoleon declared should be
 “ built, in order to serve as a monument to
 “ commemorate the epoch of the conver-
 “ sion of the French army. This succeeded
 “ so well in gaining their opinions, that the

“ *Fetham* of obedience was given by the
 “ Cheicks—the Sultan Kiber declared to be
 “ the *Friend of the Prophet*, and specially
 “ protected by him—and a report was univer-
 “ sally circulated, that, before the expiration
 “ of a year, all the army would assume the
 “ turban.” This, it is stated, was the line
 of march which Napoleon invariably pursued,
 viz. reconciling the desire which he had to
 continue in the same religion in which he
 was born, with the necessities of his policy
 and his ambition. During the stay of the
 French army in Egypt, General Menou
 alone, became a Mussulman, which was said
 to have been useful, and to have produced a
 good effect upon the minds of the inhabit-
 ants ; when the French army quitted Egypt,
 however, five or six hundred remained be-
 hind, who embraced Mahometanism, and
 enrolled themselves amongst the Mame-
 lukes.

I will finish this letter with a few details
 relative to Ferdinand VII. of whom I have
 heard and read as follows : Ferdinand was
 placed at Valençai in the Prince of Bene-
 vento's chateau, one of the most beautiful in
 France, situated in the midst of a vast fo-

rest. His brother and uncle were with him. No guard was placed over them; they were at liberty to receive whomever they pleased, and all their officers and servants were with them. They frequently went out to the distance of three or four leagues, either to hunt, or in their carriages, without being spoken to or observed. Independent of 3000*l.* sterling, paid annually by the French treasury to Talleyrand for rent, Ferdinand had 60,000*l.* sterling, yearly allowed to him for his support. These were all stipulations made in a treaty which had been entered into and ratified.

The prince wrote regularly every month to Napoleon, and received answers from him. On the 15th of August (the Empress's fête), he illuminated Valençai, and distributed alms. He asked permission several times of Napoleon to visit Paris, and was put off from time to time. He also entreated *earnestly* of Napoleon to adopt him as his son, and to marry him to a French woman. During the whole of the time that he was at Valençai, there were no grounds whatever given him for complaint. He had in that house the use of a superb library, from which

he acquired a good deal of instruction. He had his almoners and confessors—frequently received visits from the neighbouring gentlemen and merchants from Paris; the latter of whom were very assiduous in bringing him every thing that was new. For a long time he had a theatre, to which he attached some comedians; but latterly his confessors inspired him with some scruples, and he dismissed the troop. The King his father, and the Queen his mother, were a long time at Compiègne; from thence they went to Marseilles, and afterwards to Rome, where they were lodged in Prince Borghese's palace. They had 120,000*l.* sterling per annum allowed them. The Queen of Etruria, Ferdinand's sister, was one of those who took the warmest part in the Spanish revolution. Her correspondence with Murat, then commanding in Spain, is extremely curious, being full of invectives and inculpations of the most criminal nature against Ferdinand. She was of her mother's party against her brother, and acted her part with great zeal. She remained a long time at Nice. She was extremely ugly, and with a very limited share

of either talent or information, though possessed of some activity of mind. She afterwards opened a correspondence with the English officer commanding in the Mediterranean. It is stated that Napoleon, on hearing that she intended quitting France, caused it to be signified to her, that he would be extremely glad to learn that she was gone either to England or Sicily, or, indeed, to any other European country; in fact, he considered her of no importance, and felt that her departure would save the 10 or 12,000*l.* yearly, which she cost the Government.

It is asserted, that Ferdinand invariably testified great aversion to the Cortes, and extreme repugnance to the English, notwithstanding their exertions in his favour, and that he frequently declared he should prefer remaining at Valençai to reigning in Spain with the Cortes, and that he never concealed his intention to re-establish all matters as they stood before the revolution, especially the *Inquisition*. Napoleon says that the Spanish nation will deplore for a length of time that the constitution of Bayonne was not successful;

that, had it been so, they would have had no monks, no ecclesiastical jurisdiction, no archbishops enjoying millions of income; no privileged nunneries, no provincial custom-houses; no badly-administered and uncultivated national domains; they would have had a contented secular clergy, and nobles without feudal privileges and exemptions from taxes: that they would have been a regenerated people; that the change they would have experienced would have been more beneficial to them than the discovery of another Peru. “Instead of this,” said he, “what have they got? A set of grossly ignorant monks, superstitious and rich! nobles grasping every thing! a people oppressed by the Inquisition, and brutalized by ignorance and feudal tyranny! But if the Bayonne constitution had triumphed, an enlightened people having shaken off the yoke of prejudice, would have had less antipathy to the English; whereas, now, the *Inquisition*, the monks, and superstition, fortify their antipathy every day; so that *the English, instead of triumphing for themselves, have only com-*

*“pleted the triumph of those who are their
“ eternal enemies in Spain.”*

Having had a conversation with Bertrand concerning the Spanish colonies, I understood from him that Napoleon thought the emancipation of those colonies would be of the greatest advantage to England:—because, as long as the principal policy of Spain is directed towards the preservation and administration of her American colonies, she will consider the power which rules the seas, her natural enemy, and will adhere to France, to counterbalance the maritime preponderance of England; but America once set free, the policy of Spain becomes purely continental, and consequently in rivalry with France, as the only power in contact with, and in opposition to her continental interests.

I said above, that Napoleon would have suppressed the Inquisition in Spain. I saw the chapter upon the subject of this diabolical tribunal, in the Campaigns of Italy, which treats of the negotiations which took place at Valentins in 1797, when Napoleon wanted to obtain from Pope Pius VI. the suppression of the Inquisition throughout Europe. In

this chapter are three most curious letters from the Pontiff to Napoleon, in which he styles him "*his very dear son*;" and with *great earnestness* endeavours to persuade him "to abandon this fatal resolve; which
 "would dishonour him, and render him
 "a prey to remorse in his later years:
 "that he himself would sooner part with
 "a province than permit any change in re-
 "gard to the Inquisition; that it had never
 "really been that tyrannical and cruel insti-
 "tution which the enemies of the Holy See
 "pretended it was, &c. &c." After having urged his demand for a long time, Napoleon yielded at last to the earnest entreaties of the *venerable* old man; and as the treaty imposed upon him was already sufficiently rigorous, gave up that point for the time.

In the course of a conversation I had the honour to hold with Napoleon, I thought I discovered his religious opinions to be extremely tolerant: he thinks that *faith* is beyond the reach of law; that it is the most sacred property of man, and one for which he has no right to account to any "*mortal*," if there is nothing in it contrary to social order.

I took an opportunity of speaking to some of his officers, concerning the famous Sanhedrim or Jewish council held in France, which had some years back excited the attention of all Europe; they had, however, no ideas about the matter; they said merely, that if any person knew what was likely to have taken place then, it was Count Molé; but, that they had their doubts whether even he knew any more than what Napoleon wanted to obtain in the first assembly of the Sanhedrim: for that his constant method had been to first excite the public attention upon some object, but that his intentions were not known until the last moment, and sometimes not until several years after the first discussion of it,

I have the honour, &c. &c.

LETTER IV.

Cape of Good Hope,
5th of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

In the fourth and fifth Letters, the Doctor confines himself almost exclusively to medical subjects: in this I shall not imitate him; but take up the pen with great pleasure, to give you some information respecting Josephine, whose eulogy Mr. Warden has pronounced with great justice. I will relate to you some untold particulars, which to me appear not without interest.

Josephine's divorce is the only one of a similar nature recorded in history; in as far as it did not produce any alteration in the sentiments which the parties entertained for each other, prior to it. It is represented as a painful sacrifice (in which both husband and wife participated) equally to

the interests and policy of the state. In France, marriage was considered a sacrament, to dissolve which, the intervention of both civil and ecclesiastical authority was necessary. The civil authority competent to dissolve the marriage of the reigning family, was, according to the constitution of the country, the Senate. In an assembly of the family, both parties gave their consent to the dissolution of the marriage. Bertrand, who was present, describes this meeting, which was held in the state apartments of the Tuilleries, as a very interesting and affecting scene, one that drew tears from the spectators. The consent having been authenticated by the Arch-chancellor, the dissolution of marriage was pronounced by the Senate; Josephine retired from the Tuilleries to Malmaison, where the superb furniture appropriated to Napoleon's use in that small, but delightful abode, was allowed to remain. The estate of Navarre and a jointure of three millions of francs were settled upon her, which she employed chiefly in encouraging the arts and sciences, and in relieving the

wants of the distressed. Malmaison is situated about three leagues from Paris and one from St. Cloud. It became her constant residence; but during the space of five years, she only received three or four visits from her former consort, though the courtiers continued to pay their respects regularly. Frequent visits were also paid to her by the Princes of the House of Austria, when the allied Princes came to Paris. It is asserted that no alteration whatsoever of affection was produced by the divorce, either in Eugene her son, or Hortense her daughter, or in Napoleon towards them. Eugene, viceroy of Italy, had been adopted by Napoleon as his successor to the throne of Italy, in default of heirs male of his body. He was considered as a prince of the blood of Italy, and had an assignment on the Italian funds of more than a million sterling. He married, in 1806, the daughter of the King of Bavaria, who was esteemed the most beautiful and graceful Princess in any of the reigning families. Stephanie Beauharnois, Josephine's cousin, was married to the Grand Duke of Baden, brother-

in-law to the Emperor of Russia, the King of Bavaria, and the King of Sweden. She has had several children, and still reigns at Carlsruhe. This Princess's mother was extremely intimate with Lady M'Carty, to whom in dying she intrusted the care of her daughter; and her Ladyship accordingly directed, though in London, her education. Her guardianship and superintendence ceased in 1800, when the child, aged SEVEN years, was presented by his wife to Napoleon, who took upon himself the office of guardian and the charge of her education; for this she was ever after extremely grateful, and entertained the affection of a daughter towards him. She is represented as handsome, witty, and endowed with every quality requisite to render her an honour to her sex; and is said to be greatly beloved at Manheim, and throughout the duchy of Baden. Another of Josephine's cousins was married to the Prince d'Aremberg, the first family in Flanders, and a sovereign prince. It appears that this marriage has not turned out so happily as the other, through the fault of the Princess herself.

The Prince d'Aremberg commanded a regiment of lancers, and distinguished himself much in the Peninsular war, where he was made a prisoner by our troops, and remained as such a considerable time in England. Napoleon is said to have attached a great importance to this marriage, and to have intended to have caused the Prince to reside with his consort at Brussels, in quality of Governor General of the Low Countries; and, by establishing a court at Brussels, to have evinced the interest he took in Belgium: for this purpose he purchased the chateau de Laken of the Prince of Saxe Kerchen, and caused it to be furnished superbly. Another cousin of Josephine's was married to a Princess of La Layem, niece to the Prince Primate of Germany, one of the most illustrious houses of the empire; and I have been credibly informed, that one of these cousins was asked in marriage by Ferdinand the Seventh in 1807, and this would have taken place, if, unluckily for Buonaparte, he had not adopted, at Bayonne, another line of politics (suggested to him by Talleyrand), and from which we may date the origin of his

downfal.—But I find that I have wandered too far from my original intention, which was, to relate to you what I have heard respecting this famous divorce. The civil contract having been (as I said above) annulled by the decision of the Senate, the religious contract still remained. The consistory of Paris, according to the rites of the Catholic religion, pronounced its dissolution. There was some pretension on the part of the court of Rome, to be made acquainted with what was going on; but the French bishops declared, that it was contrary to the privileges of the Gallic church, and that a sovereign in the eyes of God was no more than another man, and must submit to the same jurisdiction. This question was also decided upon by the ecclesiastical court at Vienna, previous to the celebration of the marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise, and this court was obliged to acknowledge the validity of the first dissolution. Nevertheless, this gave rise to some incidents, which I will relate in another place. It was acknowledged in 1810.

The French Ruler's divorce made a great noise throughout Europe. His alliance, then the first in the world, was the object of the ambition of most of the reigning houses. Three Princesses naturally presented themselves; one in Russia, one in Austria, and one in Saxony. I have been assured, from unquestionable authority, that engagements had been first made with a Russian Princess, and that proposals were opened by Alexander himself at Erfurth; that those who had been implicated in the French Revolution, and were then about the throne, dreaded an Austrian, and preferred a Russian or Saxon Princess; and also, that this appeared to be the inclination and desire of Napoleon himself; but that the Russian Princess was extremely young; and some difficulties in respect to her religion caused delays in the negotiations, of which Austria took advantage. As soon as it was known at Vienna that Napoleon's hand was at liberty, the Emperor of Austria sent for Count Narbonne, at that time at Vienna; who was governor of Trieste, and well known to enjoy the confidence of his master. Francis condescended to discourse with con-

siderable interest about the news which then occupied every body's attention; and on his going out, Count Metternich, the Grand Chamberlain, as well as several other great personages, spoke of the desire the House of Austria entertained, that the choice should fall upon the Archduchess Marie Louise, who being of the same religion, and nineteen years of age, appeared well calculated to fulfil the views of France. "In this case," said the Austrian politicians, "we shall be able to ascertain the intentions of the French Government. If a Princess is not chosen out of some of the reigning families, it will be evident, that the intention is to overturn them all." Immediately afterwards, Count Narbonne dispatched an extraordinary courier to Paris, with an account of every thing that had taken place; and Prince Schwartzenberg, Ambassador at Paris, received instructions from his court concerning the affair. The King of Bavaria was just then at Paris; and openly declared his wish, that the alliance with Austria should be preferred; this he communicated to his son-in-law Prince

Eugene, who, in the last council held upon the subject, insisted strongly upon the necessity of the alliance with Austria, as being likely to have much more influence upon the minds of the Italians, Belgians, Bavarians, and Germans, than any other. Some were not wanting who were desirous that Napoleon should espouse a Frenchwoman, and it has even been said that the arguments they made use of were so powerful, as to turn the scale for *a moment*. However this may be, all the politicians in France agreed, that, considering the state of grandeur and prosperity in which the country then was, the first object was an heir to the throne; and I have been assured, that an extraordinary council was held, where, after long discussions, during which a Russian, Austrian, and Saxon Princess, and even a Frenchwoman, had their several partisans; three fourths of the votes were in favour of an Austrian Princess; and at two o'clock in the morning, Prince Eugene was commissioned to see Prince Schwartzenberg, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was authorized to conclude with that Ambassador, the contract of marriage with the Archduchess

of Austria, taking as a model that of Louis XVI. with Marie Antoinette; so that this negotiation was begun and terminated the same day. These, then, are particulars, I believe not known, which I have been able to collect concerning this great alliance.

With respect to what I have heard before, and believed, viz. that it had been *decided* at Vienna, when the treaty of peace had been concluded, I have been assured that I was under a great mistake, and that Napoleon was of a temper to spurn at the idea of his alliance being made *one of the conditions* of peace*.

It appears that he is greatly attached to Marie Louise, and that he had the utmost confidence in her. She is represented as a young Princess, irreproachable in her conduct, modest and religious, as well as a fine woman. On her way to Paris, Napoleon went to receive her at Compiègne. The *civil* ceremony was performed at St. Cloud, and the spiritual in the great hall

* The Austrian Manifesto, in the year 1813, nevertheless adverts to this marriage as having been one of the consequences of the peace of Vienna.

of the Museum Napoleon. After having assisted at the civil function at St. Cloud, five or six Cardinals declared that they could not assist at the spiritual, from respect, as they alledged, for the Holy See, which ought, they said, to interfere in the marriage of sovereigns. The French Bishops, however, and the majority of the Cardinals, repelled with indignation the pretension; and it is said, the Pope himself blamed the Cardinals, who were exiled from Paris, and called "Black Cardinals." The union of all the beauty of Europe; (with the exception of our own lovely countrywomen) of the Courts of the Queen of Naples, the Queen of Westphalia, the Vice-Queen of Italy, and of France, with all the principal ladies of Belgium, Holland, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome; of the Bishops and nearly all the Cardinals—formed an assemblage, that has no parallel on record. The Emperor of Austria was represented in it by his brother the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, formerly Grand Duke of Tuscany. You need not wonder at my being so well acquainted with the particulars; our exiles took a pleasure in relating them, by way of consolation

in the position in which they are now placed.

The Court of Paris, and the city, gave splendid fêtes—Schwartzenberg gave one in honour of his master. For this purpose, he caused a sort of hall to be constructed in the garden of his hotel. In the midst of the festival, the curtains took fire, and in a moment the whole room was in flames. Napoleon, taking his wife in his arms, retired with Prince Schwartzenberg to a short distance. Marie Louise returned to St. Cloud, and Napoleon remained in the garden until morning. The building was entirely consumed, and the Princess Schwartzenberg, who had previously effected her escape from the hall, uneasy about one of her children, had entered again, when, in endeavouring to return by a little door, which led to the interior of the hotel, she was suffocated, and nearly consumed by the flames. Great concern and uneasiness was manifested during the night about her fate, when, in the morning, her remains were discovered. Prince Kourakin, the Russian ambassador, was also severely burnt, and about twenty ladies and gentlemen fell

victims to this shocking accident. All those, who in 1771 had witnessed the festivals given on occasion of the marriage between Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, were reminded of the catastrophe which took place in the Champs Elysées, where near two thousand persons perished; and drew a melancholy omen from the present occasion.

The Revolution, which destroyed the throne of Louis, and brought him to the scaffold, arose principally out of the rebellion of Paris; and it was at the festival given by that city, that the above fatal event took place.

The change of politics in Austria at Dresden, was, without doubt, the principal cause of Napoleon's misfortunes, and consequent ruin; and it was at the fête given by the ambassador of that power that a similar disastrous and fatal omen presented itself.

Although Napoleon is said not to be superstitious, he was affected by it; and long after, on the morning before the battle of Dresden, when he was informed that Prince Schwartzenberg had been killed, he

said, "That was a brave man, but nevertheless there is something consoling in his death. It was against *him*, then, that the fatal omen which occurred at his ball on the marriage-day was directed—*We* are clear of it." Two hours afterwards he was informed that there had been a mistake, and that Moreau, not Schwartzenberg, had been killed.

The impression upon his mind was said to have been effaced by his journey to Belgium, and by the birth of his son, some months after, on the 20th of March 1811. One hundred pieces of cannon were to have been fired, if a male was born; and only twenty-five, if a female. It is said that the attention of every body was occupied in counting the number of guns discharged, and that, at the twenty-sixth, there was a general cry of joy, and all Paris, as by one spontaneous movement, flocked to the Carousel and the garden of the Tuilleries. *All the sovereigns of Europe* (except our own) *sent ambassadors extraordinary to compliment the French Court on the occasion.* The Emperor of Russia sent Prince Kourakin, his Minister of the Interior; the

Emperor of Austria, Prince Clasy, with all his orders enriched with the most valuable diamonds to decorate the young Prince. A few months after his birth, the French rulers made a party to Cherbourg, to see the celebrated works going on in that harbour, and afterwards to Holland, where their entry was extremely brilliant.

I have frequently heard the Princess Charlotte of England, eldest sister of the Prince Regent, Queen of Wirtemberg, spoken of in terms of high praise, by the Longwood French. She is represented as a person of the greatest sweetness and goodness, and as deserving of the highest applause, for having borne with so much temper and resignation the treatment she experienced. In marching upon Ulm in 1805, Napoleon entered at the head of his army into Stutgard, the Court of which was then employed in celebrating the marriage of Prince Paul, the King's son, with a Princess of Saxony. The whole House of Wirtemberg was assembled. The Queen, being an English Princess, experienced at first some embarrassment, which Napoleon quickly perceived, and as soon dissipated, by evincing his anxiety to please

her, and by his assiduity in paying his court to her, which changed the first embarrassments, caused by prejudice, into a pleasant intercourse. Afterwards, Napoleon often stopped for some time at Stutgard, and invariably manifested the same sentiments and the same attentions to the English Princess. It was she who made the marriage of the Princess Catherine*, daughter of the King of Wirtemberg, by his first wife, with Prince Jerome (afterwards King of Westphalia), a marriage which connected Napoleon's family with that of Brunswick, and founded a new alliance with that of Russia. The Princess Catherine has had several children, and is said to be greatly attached to her husband: "So that you see," said Madame Bertrand, "Napoleon's family is related to all the reigning families in Europe, even to that of Prussia, for some time back a niece of Murat's married a Prince of Hohenzollern."

* This Princess wrote the letter published in the Sketch of the Political and Military Power of Russia, and which has procured her the admiration and esteem of all readers except unfeeling *Legitimates*.

Young Napoleon, who, from his tenderest age, has excited so much the attention of nations, now six years old, is stated to be a child particularly endowed by nature, both with beauty, amiable disposition, and powers of intellect. Grandson of the Emperor of Austria, great-grandson of Ferdinand of Naples, consequently descended from both the Houses of Lorraine and Bourbon; it is confidently believed, that he would hereafter be the object of hopes both to the French and Italian nations, even if he had not a lawful title to the imperial inheritance, transferred to him by his father, in virtue of the power vested in him by the constitution.

One cannot help reflecting with surprise, that Napoleon's child is great-grandson of that Caroline Queen of Naples, who had been the mortal enemy of every thing French; although I have heard some assert, that latterly, when Caroline was at Vienna, she took a peculiar pleasure in caressing young Napoleon, and in consoling and counselling her grand-daughter Marie Louise.

Computing one day with Madame Bertrand, the alliances which Napoleon's family had formed with the sovereigns of Europe,

she said, " there were now living young
 " Napoleon; a son and three daughters of
 " Prince Eugene by the Princess of Bavaria;
 " a son and daughter of the Princess of
 " Baden by the Grand Duke; two sons of
 " Jerome by the Princess of Wirtemberg,
 " and several by Prince Hohenzollern."

I have the honour, &c. &c.

LETTER V.

Cape of Good Hope,

8th of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

BEHOLD us, at St. Helena : consequently, I have not had so many opportunities of seeing Napoleon ; nevertheless, during October and November, I saw the French exiles almost daily. It was at first expected they would have been lodged at the Plantation-house, a very handsome country residence, built by the Company for the Governor, and which may be compared to a house of the second rate in England. Attached to it, there is a good garden, plenty of water and shade (in a tropical climate, indispensable necessities to comfort, and even to existence), and fragrant plants of India flourish by the side of beautiful oaks. Independent of this mansion, the Governor had a very good house in the town, which he might have occupied ; and which arrangement would

have caused but very little expence to government. Longwood was then occupied by the Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Skelton, Mrs. Skelton and their family, the removal of whom consumed several days. It was originally an old extremely ill built barn, belonging to the Company. Sir George Cockburn, with that alacrity and activity which distinguish him, employed the sailors in carrying wood and other materials, and his carpenters in constructing some new apartments (chiefly of wood) and in rendering those already built, habitable. This was necessarily the occasion of considerable expence in such a place as St. Helena, and those who were well acquainted with the island predicted that Napoleon would be after all very badly accommodated ; as there were neither water or trees except of one miserable species near the house : and also, because a constantly raging wind prevails there, that parches up the ground, and blights vegetation in such a manner that a kitchen garden never could be established in it. Whilst this abode was preparing, Napo-

leon remained at the Briars, a small pavilion, consisting of a chamber of about fifteen or seventeen feet in length, in which was placed his camp-bed, and there also he wrote, ate, and slept; a small adjoining antichamber, and above it a garret in which Las Cases and his son were lodged. Count Bertrand, his lady, and children, Count and Madame Montholon, and child, with General Gorgand, were placed at a boarding-house in James town, from whence they went to visit Napoleon by turns. The Briars is about a mile and a half distant from the town, and for the last part of the way, is a pleasant walk. About fifty paces from the pavilion, is the house inhabited by the proprietor, a merchant of the name of Balcombe. Behind it is a well cultivated garden, and the whole of this plantation may contain about one hundred acres. Mr. Balcombe is an Englishman, who has been established for several years in the island, and whose family consists of a wife and two daughters, one about fourteen, the other fifteen years of age, both of whom had arrived a few

months before from England, where they had been at a boarding-school, and had learned to speak tolerable French. These are the young women of whom so many unfounded stories and absurdities have been told to deceive the public, and concerning whom so many trumpery anecdotes have been fabricated. I was several times at the Briars, and had an opportunity of knowing that Napoleon lived nearly as he had done on ship board. He rarely stirred out of his apartment before four o'clock, from thence he went into the garden, or walked for an hour or two on the lawn before the house, where the two young ladies I have mentioned and their mother frequently came to walk with him. After some conversation with them he returned to his room to dinner. After dinner, he often paid a visit to this family, and played a game at whist. During the two months he was at the Briars, he never quitted it except once, to call on Major Hudson, who, with his family, inhabited a small house at the foot of the hill, which, from its little

garden, afforded a very pleasant prospect. During this excursion, he remained about an hour in conversation with Major Hudson, his wife, and beautiful children. While at the Briars, I do not think that he had more than one interview with the admiral. It seems very likely that he was surprized to find himself so indifferently lodged ; and probably learned from the inhabitants, that he might have been much better provided in other places. He did not, however, suffer a single word of complaint to escape him. On board the Northumberland, our exiles had no altercation with the admiral ; but no sooner had they set foot on shore than a change took place, possibly from discontent at being sent to so miserable a place as St. Helena, devoid of every comfort.

It is said, that the admiral, who gave several balls, at which the rest of the French were present, once sent a card of invitation for Napoleon by Count Bertrand, to which no answer was returned, as the card was directed

to General Buonaparte. It was whispered at the time, though I do not believe it ever came to the admiral's ears, that he answered to Bertrand—"Send this card to General Buonaparte: the last news I heard of him was at the battle of the Pyramids and Mount Tambor." At these balls the elegance of the dresses of the French ladies was very conspicuous, and drew the attention of all the officers' wives.

About the middle of December, Longwood having undergone such improvements as it was susceptible of, the removal to it took place, and appeared to gratify the French, who experienced some satisfaction at being assembled together once more. Fourteen or fifteen days afterwards I went to see them, and found them only tolerably off in point of accommodation. Count Bertrand and his lady were living about a mile from Longwood, in a small cottage, with two small rooms, and two garrets, but without garden or shade. It must at the same time be

admitted that it was the only one in the neighbourhood which could be had for them, and was taken at their own request. Workmen were constantly employed at Longwood in building them a house about fifty yards from the principal one. Count Las Casas and General Gourgand, were lodged in small houses, principally of wood, and covered according to the custom of the island with pitched paper. Napoleon had, I believe, four rooms to himself. A warm bath was also set up for him, a luxury unknown in this wretched island. Longwood, although among the most unpleasant spots on it, enjoys one great advantage, viz. that of standing on a level of about four or five miles in circumference.

The climate of St. Helena is the most extraordinary perhaps in the world: being at the same time both colder and hotter than any other in such latitudes. At Longwood, a fire is found comfortable for six months in the year; few days are without rain, and it is frequently enve-

loped in fog, while a ride of two or three miles brings you into the burning heat of the torrid zone. The humidity of the place also gives rise to dysenteries, which make frequent ravages; the inhabitants in general are poor, badly fed and ignorant. Salt meat forms a principal share of their diet; and their seclusion from the rest of the world, renders them unacquainted with every thing except the sailing of the China or India fleets, matters of great importance to them, their principal employment being to enhance, by combinations and otherwise, the price of their fowls, vegetables, and other articles, which they know to be indispensable to the ships, to double or treble their original value, the moment a fleet arrives. Without this traffic, the island would be a desert. This, however, has rendered it a rendezvous for ships; and a week seldom elapses without some homeward-bound Indiaman touching for water; but outward-bound ships hardly ever drop in. It is supplied with news chiefly from the Cape, or by the store ships, sent

once a year from England, by the Company, to provision this little colony.

Notwithstanding the inconveniencies of Longwood, Napoleon was better off than at the Briars, as on leaving his apartment, he could take a drive in his carriage, for a mile or more round a little wood of gum-trees, or mount on horseback, and descend from the mountains down the precipices, and make a circuit of about four or five miles by skirting a valley called by the French the Valley of Silence (*la Vallée du Silence*) in which they noticed a pretty young lady of about sixteen or seventeen years of age, whom they good-humouredly styled "the nymph of the valley." As Napoleon passed her small habitation, this young lady courtseyed to him, and he, without alighting from his horse, addressed a few words of broken English to her. This is what has furnished Mr. Warden's story of Miss Robinson. Napoleon dined with his officers and the ladies about eight, or half-past eight o'clock. Colonel

and Mrs. Skelton, the former inhabitants of Longwood, frequently visited and dined with him, and he appeared pleased with the society of Mrs. Skelton, who had been educated in France, and spoke French extremely well. He was also visited at Longwood by the officers of the 53d regiment, who were highly pleased with the reception he gave them.

There was no guard at Longwood, except at the entrance, where about thirty soldiers were posted. No visitors could enter without the permission of the admiral, the governor, or Sir George Bingham, or of General Bertrand, if they were invited by the French. With respect to strangers the same system took place; they were referred to Count Bertrand, by whom they were informed of the hour and the day they could be received by his master, which was generally a day or two after their application. His pass was sufficient to admit them, and during the time they remained in the

island, they could, with this pass, continue to pay their respects at Longwood. Matters had been so contrived by the admiral, who was previously acquainted with all who procured them, that this could be productive of no inconvenience, and consequently the arrangements answered very well, and were satisfactory to *all* parties. Picquets were also placed in different directions upon the surrounding mountains, in such a manner that the exiles could take a walk of five or six miles within the limits without being accompanied. If, however, they were desirous of going beyond these boundaries, it was necessary for them to be accompanied by an English officer, in a similar manner as when they went to town: few, except Madame Bertrand, Generals Montholon, and Gourgand, availed themselves of the permission of going to town in such a manner. As for Napoleon, he was heard to declare, that he would not, of his free will, do any thing, (if he could avoid it) which would establish an acknowledgment on his part of any *right* which our

government had over him. The others were desirous of being allowed the range of the whole island, excepting the town and the sea-coast, alledging, that it was extremely easy to guard so small an island by placing fourteen or fifteen picquets of eighteen or twenty men each, sufficiently near to communicate with each other, in a few minutes, upon the borders of the sea, which were besides well guarded by our cruizers.

European news of December, January and February arrived. The fate of Murat was made known to Napoleon, who merely said : “ the Calabrians are “ more humane than the English minis- “ try. When it is wished to get rid of a “ man, a bullet is the most humane and “ noble means of doing so.” This saying got speedily abroad, and produced considerable emotion. He was greatly surprised at the trial of Ney, and said he could not conceive how the allies could violate so barefacedly the capitulation of Paris; he held the breach of that treaty

as upon a footing with those of Dantzic and Dresden; he observed, that the Parisian lawyers had in general displayed but little talent and less courage in behalf of their clients; that Cambrone was the person who had manifested most honour in his defence. He also observed, that it was difficult to conceive how the Duke of Otranto, who was Minister of Police under him, could have signed the act of proscription. How the names of Bertrand, Cambrone and Drouet, who had never served under the Bourbons, who had left France, who had never borne their commission, and who had never ceased to be under his command, could have been included in it. “These
 “men,” said he, “whose character and
 “fidelity merited the highest approba-
 “tion, were condemned by generals,
 “who had taken the oath to the king,
 “who had received the cross of St. Louis
 “from his hands, who had worn his
 “cockade, sworn obedience to him, and a
 “few days afterwards, had again mount-
 “ed the tri-color cockade, trampled

“ under foot the white, thrown away the
 “ cross of St. Louis with disdain, and
 “ made war upon Louis the XVIIIth.”
 He also observed of the sentences, “ that
 “ laws had been applied to the prisoners
 “ that had been decreed by the *republic*
 “ and the fourth dynasty against the Bour-
 “ bons, and for the maintenance of that
 “ *republic* and the *imperial* dynasty.—
 “ Is it possible,” said he, “ to conceive
 “ such a state of affairs? It is by virtue of
 “ a law made against the Bourbons by
 “ an usurped government, during the
 “ time that the *legitimate* government
 “ resided at Mittau and London, that the
 “ same LEGITIMATE government now
 “ causes people to be executed! How
 “ can you reconcile the *nineteenth* year of
 “ the reign of Louis the XVIIIth, with the
 “ putting in force laws made by a rebel-
 “ lious republic, and an usurping govern-
 “ ment! The men,” continued he, “ who
 “ at Waterloo, defended the nation
 “ against combined Europe, are con-
 “ demned, and the faithful subjects
 “ are they who fought against their

“ country, like General *Bourmont*, who
 “ unfurled the tri-color flag with
 “ Ney, on the 17th March, and after-
 “ wards came to Paris to take the
 “ oath of fidelity to me, was em-
 “ ployed in his rank of general of divi-
 “ sion, for three months was chief
 “ of the staff at Metz, under the
 “ orders of Gerard, and on the 14th,
 “ and two days before the battle of
 “ Waterloo, deserted with two officers
 “ of his staff, and went over to the ene-
 “ my—this *Bourmont*, who bore witness
 “ against Ney, *he* is the good Frenchman ;
 “ *he* is the man who has fought for his
 “ country ! Never yet,” continued he,
 “ was human reason treated with such
 “ gross contempt. Louis the XVIIIth
 “ is the *ally* of the coalesced powers,
 “ and signs a treaty with them against
 “ France. Nevertheless a treaty of
 “ *peace* is concluded by them with *him*. It
 “ is the first time that ever a treaty of
 “ peace has been concluded with an *ally* ! By
 “ this *very treaty of peace* his good *allies* have
 “ imposed upon his subjects a contribution

“ of seven hundred millions ! ! All the pro-
 “ clamations and all the promises made
 “ by the allies, of not intending to impose
 “ any government upon France, and of
 “ waging war solely against *me*, were dis-
 “ regarded as soon as they entered Paris,
 “ and had succeeded in disbanding the
 “ army of France.”

One of the sentences was afterwards
 pointed out to me as having been put
 in execution, in virtue of a law passed
 during Robespierre's rule, a very few
 days after the decree of the Conven-
 tion which caused Louis the XVIth to
 die on a scaffold ! I must confess I
 was confounded at seeing all principle
 defied in this manner, and could not
 refute the conclusions which were made,
 viz. “ That men so condemned were
 “ assassinated—that so many contradic-
 “ tions and absurdities had never before
 “ been jumbled together—that a king
 “ calling himself *legitimate*, by thus
 “ putting in force, laws made by a go-
 “ vernment *he* designated as *usurped*, pro-

“ tested *himself* against his *own* legiti-
 “ macy, and proclaimed to the world the
 “ legitimacy of that government he
 “ contended was an usurpation !”

I have the honor,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER VI.

Cape of Good Hope,
13th of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

THE discussion on the most interesting part of the little work begins here. — In the 7th Letter, the Doctor represents Napoleon as addressing a long harangue to him, respecting the conspiracy which took place in 1804;—the suicides of Pichegru, and Captain Wright; the execution of the Duke d'Enghien; and the events which took place at Jaffa, during the campaign of 1799.—It is to be lamented that our countryman did not follow the example of a Livy, or a Thucydides, who, when they put words into the mouths of any of their heroes, invariably took care to make them speak conformably to their situation and character, as also in regard to probability.

The object of the conspiracy of 1804, planned in London, by the Count

d'Artois, and of which Georges, Moreau and Pichegru were to have been the executors in Paris, was, according to Napoleon, "the assassination of the first consul, and the re-establishment of the Bourbon dynasty;" both of which failed, and the French nation raised the Imperial throne to place him on it.—During the time I was in France, I made many enquiries respecting this interesting epoch. The result of which was, a conviction of the falsehood of our information upon the events relating to it; and after my arrival at St. Helena, I had an opportunity of extracting some valuable notes from a manuscript, lent to me by Count de las Casas, containing the history of 1814—a work of more than common interest, and which was in my possession for some time.

The peace of Amiens did not last more than eighteen months. In March 1803, the speech from the throne announced the commencement of a new war, and scarcely had the sanguinary career opened, when the French government manifested an intention to carry the scene of action into the bosom of

Old England. In 1803 and 1804, numerous camps covered the shores of Boulogne, Dunkirk, and Ostend, and formidable squadrons were getting ready at Brest, Rochefort and Toulon. All the dock yards on the sea-coasts and rivers of France were covered with praams, gun-boats, and transports, small and large craft; and thousands of hands were employed, in forming small harbours along the channel, to receive the numerous flotilla destined for the attack. In England, the whole population flew to arms. Pitt himself abandoned the peaceful labours of the exchequer, clothed himself in uniform, girded on the sword, and dreamed of nothing but instruments of war, battalions, and batteries! We saw our revered and venerable King, quit his palace, and pass a considerable part of his time in the midst of his troops; and camps, as numerous as those of the French, were formed in Kent and Sussex, near Dover and Deal. The rival armies silently contemplated each other, and were only separated by the narrow channel covered with our ships.

The English ministry (according to the

manuscript, from which the whole of what follows is taken) left no means unemployed to awaken the continental powers, but Russia, Austria, Prussia and Spain, were either allies of or friendly to France, which power nearly all Europe obeyed. Equally unsuccessful were their efforts in attempting to rekindle the war in La Vendée, which had before rendered them such essential service: the spirit of the west of France had experienced a thorough change; *the concordat* concluded with the Pope, had attached the priests to Napoleon, and the gratitude of the poorer classes was excited by the great public works on which they were employed; such, as opening an internal navigation between Brest and the Loire, the canal which connected La Vilaine with La Rance, by means of which the French coasters could come from the coasts of Corton to those of Normandy, without being obliged to sail round the coast of Brittany, and double the Cape at Ushant. A new city arose in the midst of La Vendée, and eight grand roads intersected the department itself, and proved most beneficial to its

commerce and agriculture ;—considerable sums were distributed amongst the Vendéans for the rebuilding of such of their houses as had been burnt down or otherwise destroyed, by orders of the committee of public safety. Nothing therefore was to be hoped, either from the continental powers or the royalists of La Vendée whilst Napoleon ruled, yet circumstances were such, that a diversion was deemed indispensably necessary by the English ministers.

The English government had been frequently led into error by the royalists, who, deceived by their own illusions, had repeatedly engaged the former in unfortunate expeditions ; besides which, the English government had a great idea of the power, and the means possessed by the Jacobin party. They suffered themselves to be persuaded, that a great number of these Jacobins, discontented with Buonaparte, were disposed to unite their efforts with those of the royalists ; that they would also be seconded by several jealous generals, at the head of whom was Moreau ; that by combining the efforts of both parties,

opposite indeed in their sentiments, but united by a common interest, they could succeed in forming a faction, sufficiently powerful to operate a most efficacious diversion.—Moreau, discontented, had been influenced since his marriage, by his wife and mother-in-law, two intriguing and ambitious Creoles from the Isle of France.—He set himself in opposition to Napoleon, and openly condemned the *concordat*, and the formation of the legion of honour, and became reconciled with Pichegru, who had been his companion in arms in the army of Holland and the Rhine ; notwithstanding he had, in Fructidor, 1797, in the order of the day, proclaimed this man a traitor to the republic, and had sent the papers containing his correspondence with the enemy, which he had found in the baggage of the Austrian General Kinklin, to the Directory. During the interval of the peace of Amiens, when communications were carried on with facility, a close correspondence took place between these two generals ; their reconciliation was perfect and sincere, and their support was insured for the party.

An agent at Munich and another at Stutgard, demanded the necessary funds to second a party, with which they had a correspondence, and which party, they announced, would not long delay raising the standard of civil war in France. The Abbé Ratel had correspondents in Abbeville, Amiens, and in the Artois, and promised every thing. In London there were two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Chouan officers in the Bourbon pay, who maintained a correspondence in Brittany and Normandy—full powers and considerable sums of money were sent to the agent at Munich; the command of the cruizers off the Scheldt and the Somme, was given to Sir Sidney Smith, and a cutter commanded by Captain Wright was employed in furtherance of the plans of Georges. On the 23d of August 1803, Captain Wright conveyed from England to France, Georges, Villeneuve, LaHaye, St. Hilaire, (two participators in the attempt of the 3d Nivose) Queret, Labonté, Picot, Froché, Jean Marie, all men of tried courage, and celebrated for many *coup de mains* in the Chouan war, they were dis-

embarked at the foot of the *Falaise de Beville*, between Dieppe and Trefort, near to which was a small farm, the proprietor of which had been bribed and was devoted to the party, and who made such signals as had been previously arranged and agreed upon. From the summit, he let down a rope, with the aid of which, those who were landed ascended the sides of the precipice, which was perpendicular and insulated, and in consequence had not attracted the attention of either the guards of the coast or the custom-house officers. After the disembarkation, Georges and his companions passed the day in the farm-house, and set off in the night for Paris,—lodgings having been provided for them beforehand upon the road, in which they spent the day, and resumed their journey during the night through by-paths, giving themselves out for smugglers. By means of paying well, they interested every body in keeping their secret. Arrived at Paris they found hiding-places, provided for them by means of all-powerful gold, which was not spared upon the occasion.

On the 10th of December Captain

Wright effected a second descent, consisting of Coster and St. Victor (implicated in the third Nivose,) Le Mercier, Tamerlan, Lelau, men of a similar cast, and Armand de Polignac, an emigrant noble. In the mean time, General Lajollais, who had served with Moreau and Pichegru, and whose wife had been mistress to the latter, went frequently backwards and forwards to London, as the bearer of dispatches between those two generals, and announced that Moreau was disposed to undertake anything against the First Consul; that the moment and circumstances were favourable, and that no time was to be lost; in consequence of which, on the 16th of January 1804, Captain Wright made a third disembarkation at the *Falaise de Beville*, consisting of Generals Pichegru and Lajollais, Rosillion, Rochelle, Armand Gaillard, (Vendeans and Chouans,) Jules de Polignac and La Riviere, emigrant nobles, of whom the last was the chief confidant of the Count d'Artois. About fifty more Chouans were landed upon the coast of Brittany and Poitou, and proceeded separately by different paths to

Paris. During the months of September, October, November and December 1803, and January 1804, Napoleon may be said to have been placed upon a volcano. Three sorts of persons were disembarked at the *Falaise de Beville*, to wit, Chouans and Vendéans, wretches familiarized to crimes and assassinations ; nobles, under Polignac and La Riviere ; and finally, those who had been more or less employed under Pichegru during the revolution. It appeared, that Polignac and La Riviere were unsuccessful in all the overtures they made to the returned emigrants, none of whom would grant them an asylum, and who treated the enterprize as madness, and were afraid to commit themselves by embarking in it.

In the mean time, a fellow named Leclerc, an agent of the Abbe Ratel's, was arrested at Abbeville and his papers seized, among which were found a great number of insignificant reports of *espionage* ; but amongst them were some mysterious recitals which attracted attention. There was mention of the landings of Chouans in order to strike a great blow ! Of a grand event likely soon to take place !

The well known Meheé de la Touche, who had been a furious jacobin, discontented with Napoleon, who had exiled him to the Isle of Oleron, had proceeded to London, where he had been received by the Bourbon princes, had held conferences with the Bishop of Arras, and had been introduced to some of our ministers; was sent from thence to Munich, where he opened himself to the agent; from thence he went to Paris and corresponded for some time with the different agents at Munich and Stutgard; but not having at bottom any confidence in the emigrants, and mortally hating the English, he determined to confess every thing to the police; from whom he received orders to continue his correspondence as usual: however as he was not esteemed very trustworthy, an officer of the garrison of Strasburg, of tried fidelity, was sent with his letters and instructions. This man introduced himself to — and to —, and confirmed all Meheé's reports. In consequence of the strict watch which was kept by the police of

Strasbourg over the Duchy of Baden, extraordinary movements were discovered. One *Massey*, an agent of the party, resided at Offenbourg with the Duc d'Enghien, and was entrusted with the correspondence of the intriguers in the interior, to whom also he afforded supplies of money. The prince himself had been frequently at Strasbourg, and went several times a week to the banks of the Rhine (under pretence of hunting,) where he held conferences with different agents. A certain Baroness Reich, who had been an object of suspicion for a length of time, appeared also to be very busy and occupied in unusual movements. Finally, the police of Paris since the month of September, had arrested Chouans and Brigands, who not having been pardoned, were in Paris clandestinely, and could give no satisfactory reasons for their being induced to come there and defy such an imminent risk. Amongst these who were arrested, were Picot and Querel, who had been disembarked at the *Falaise de Beville*. All these circumstances taken

together evidently proved that some plot was hatching.

Towards the end of January, Napoleon, reading over one night the report in which were contained all these facts, thought that by trying some of the Chouans, who were imprisoned in Paris, the hope of pardon might perhaps induce one of them to confess; accordingly, he commenced by trying Queret, marked out in the list of Chouans as surgeon. This man was brought by the Grand Judge before a council of war, and condemned to death. As he was going to execution he begged permission to speak, and promised to make some important discoveries. General Lauriston, who was then employed about the First Consul, had barely time to arrive at the prison, in order to suspend his execution, whither proceeded also Real, counsellor of state, to whom Queret confessed that he came from England; that he disembarked the 21st of August 1803, at the *Falaise de Beville*, from an English cutter with Georges and several others; he made known all the lodging places where they had passed the days during their route

from *La Falaise* to Paris ; and finally, that at the very moment they were speaking, Georges was in Paris, for the purpose of assassinating the First Consul. Several officers were immediately sent to the different places pointed out by him, as having been their lodgings, by whom all the depositions of the proprietors and others who had seen them, were collected in a mass ; the result of which was the discovery of the two other disembarkations above mentioned, without, however, being able to come at the names of the individuals composing them ; but that at the third disembarkation there was some person of great note, and to whom all the rest paid much respect. It was also ascertained that a new landing was shortly to take place, in consequence of which, Savary proceeded to the *Falaise de Beville*, accompanied by a detachment of the gens d'armes, and occupied all the outlets, having with him the person who had been in the habit of making the signals, in order to deceive those who composed the disembarkation, and seize them immediately upon landing. By means of this

information Bouvet de Lauzier, an emigrant, proprietor of a house at St. Germain, as well as other persons were also arrested. The accused were interrogated and confronted, every thing which was already known was confirmed, but no new lights were thrown upon the subject.

Towards the middle of February, Bouvet de Lauzier, giving himself up to despair, hanged himself in prison; the turnkey, however, hearing a noise in the chamber, arrived just in time to cut the cord and save his life, and went immediately to acquaint the magistrate charged with such affairs, with what had happened, who, on his arrival, found Bouvet de Lauzier surrounded by surgeons, still purple and discoloured from the effects of strangulation and uttering extraordinary things. “We have
“ been betrayed,” said he, angrily. “What
“ a number of brave fellows must perish,
“ because that traitor, Moreau, has de-
“ ceived us. He told us, that the army
“ was for him ! he made Pichegru and a
“ number of other fine fellows come from
“ London ! and when arrived, he aban-

“ doneed us, and we shall all die victims to
“ him.” Upon hearing this, the Grand
Judge demanded authority to arrest General
Moreau ; prior to doing which, however,
it was desirable to ascertain the fact
of Pichegru’s being in Paris, which still
remained to be proved. Two hours after-
wards, an ex-monk, brother to Pich-
egru, was seized at his lodgings in
the third story of a house in the Place
Vendôme. He was a man of very peace-
able character, and confessed at once,
that he had seen his brother thrice dur-
ing the last ten days, and that he had
blamed him for coming in such a manner
to suffer a disgraceful death as a crimi-
nal. This was all that was wanted—the
Grand Judge instantly issued his writ
to arrest General Moreau, according to
the tenth article of the constitution,
for having plotted against the repub-
lic, and the life of the First Consul, in
conjunction with Georges and Pichegru.
He was taken by a colonel of Gendar-
merie whilst returning from his country-
house at Grosbois, at about half way to
Paris. On the carriage being stopped, and
the colonel’s order made known to him, he

laughed, and followed him to the Temple. When arrived, he demanded to see the order for his commitment. On reading in it, the names of Georges and Pichegru, he turned pale, and appeared to be as much disconcerted as he had before affected to be gay.

The fourth disembarkation, which was to have been made at the *Falaise de Beville*, was just on the point of being effected, when a frigate made signals to Captain Wright, who immediately stood out to sea. It was conjectured, that he then got information of what had taken place; it was also believed that some person of great importance was to have been landed, if such event had not taken place. At this time great outcries prevailed, with respect to the injustice of the treatment experienced by Moreau. It was said, that he was a victim to the ambition and jealousy of the First Consul; that Pichegru had never quitted London; that an *alibi* would be proved, and thereby the enemies of Moreau would be confounded. In the mean time, all the springs of the police were set in action. Lists of the sixty brigands

in Paris, for the purpose of destroying the government, were printed ; Pichegru and Georges were closely pursued, but not yet caught ; they were even traced to their lodgings ; the places where Georges had slept three nights before, and Pichegru two nights before, were known ; the police-officers had got scent of them, and tracked them like bloodhounds, from place to place. The legislative body enacted a law on the 9th of February, pronouncing the pain of death on all who afforded any asylum to the brigands.

Pichegru was betrayed by a person he had trusted with his secret, and was sold for one hundred thousand francs. At two o'clock in the morning of the 28th of February, police-officers entered into the chamber where he slept, opened the door by means of a key, which had been furnished to them, and rushed to a small night-table upon which his pistols were lying. Pichegru, who was a man of extraordinary strength and courage, though surprised, defended himself with his fists like a madman, so that they were under the necessity of binding and conduct-

ing him thence with only his shirt on, to the prefecture of the police, where, seeing all resistance fruitless, he submitted and underwent his examination, and was committed to prison. Until then, the public opinion with respect to Moreau's culpability had been suspended; but no sooner was it ascertained, that Pichegru was arrested, than he was abandoned by almost every body, and supported no longer, but by the *party*. Georges and about twenty more accomplices still remained unseized; fearing that they might escape, Napoleon had recourse to an expedient, unexampled, I believe, till then, and which proved to what an extent he was seconded by the sentiments of the capital—he declared Paris in a state of blockade, and nobody was allowed to go out of it, unless by day, and through fifteen outlets. The whole guard and garrison were bivouacked round the city, and sentinels on foot and on horseback, posted at every fifty paces round the walls. No one could go out without being first examined by men personally acquainted with the brigands, whose description was fixed up in every

direction. The promenades in the *Bois de Boulogne* and round Paris were prohibited, and the blockade, which lasted for six weeks, entirely put a stop to the habits and diversions of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding, made no complaints. At last, on the 9th of March, it was discovered that Georges was to cross the Pont Royal in a cabriolet, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in order to seek a lodging near the Pantheon. Precautions were taken in consequence of this information, and two police officers were placed upon the Pont Royal, when, at the time expected, Georges crossed, driving rapidly the cabriolet himself. He was followed by the persons stationed for that purpose. Arrived at the Place de Pantheon, he discovered that the house where he was to lodge, was beset ; he immediately turned back, and encountered the two officers who had pursued him, one of whom seized the bridle, but was instantly stretched lifeless by a pistol fired by Georges, who then opened the cabriolet door, jumped out, and wounded the second ; the populace, however, flocked

round, and seized him, crying, *It is Georges—It is Georges*, he was then conducted to the prefecture of the police, and from thence, after undergoing his first examination, he was committed. All his accomplices were afterwards arrested in succession, and the blockade of Paris was not raised until the last of them was taken; during which period men frequently appeared on the walls apparently with a design of leaping from them, but were deterred by the sight of the guards.

Pichegru underwent several examinations in prison: he denied having come to Paris with Georges, or even having seen him; but finding afterwards that every thing was discovered, he put an end to his own existence on the 6th of April. Nobody was interested in his fate. It was proved, and not even denied by himself, that he had betrayed his country, that he was of the Bourbon-party, and paid by England. He would not only have been condemned to death on account of the actual plot, but also on account of prior treasons. Moreau persisted still to assert that he was an

enemy of Pichegru's, and denied having seen him ; he also pretended to be ignorant of the place where he was to be found, and likewise constantly denied having seen Georges.

On the 15th of May, the public accuser of the Criminal Tribunal, drew up the act of accusation, although, it was at first wished, according to the letter of the military law, to bring the criminals before a court martial, which would have tried them, and the sentence would have been executed within four and twenty hours. To this Napoleon would not consent, and the business was pleaded at great length before the criminal tribunal of the Seine, and occupied the attention of all Paris for several days. Numerous memorials were distributed in favor of the accused, who were allowed the greatest latitude in their defence. When it was fully proved, in spite of his repeated denials, that Moreau had seen Georges, he became an object of universal contempt. — Georges, Riviere, Bouvet de Lauzier, Armand de Polignac, Charles d'Hazier, Charles La Riviere, emigrant nobles, F. Lajollais, formerly a repub-

lican general, George Roussillion, Rochelle, du Corps, Picot, M. Roger, Cotter, Deville, A. Gaillard, Joyaut, Barban, Lemercier, Cadadat, Lelau, and Mérille ; were condemned to death. Jules de Polignac, Leridan, Rolland, and Marie Michel Hezay, to two years imprisonment ; Moreau, found guilty, but excusably, was condemned to two years imprisonment, and departed the morning afterwards for the United States of America, having sold all his property, of which his house in the Rue d'Anjou, and his estate of Gros Bois, were purchased by Napoleon, who gave the first to Bernadotte, and the second to Berthier. — Pardon was granted by Napoleon, to several of the condemned, to wit, Charles de Riviere, Armand de Polignac, Bouvet de Lauzier, d'Hazier, Lajolais, Armand Gaillard, Roussillion and Rochelle, whose punishment was commuted to imprisonment for some years ; the rest were executed on the Place de Grève to the great satisfaction of the public.

It was proved by these trials, which took place, one may say in the face of all

Europe, the ambassadors and foreign agents constantly attending the tribunal, that Pichegru having become reconciled to Moreau, came to Paris ; that Moreau had several interviews with him, and three with Georges and him. The first interview which took place between Moreau, Pichegru and Georges, was in the Boulevard de la Madeleine at night.* “ *Here I am,*” cried Pichegru, “ *there is not a moment’s time to be lost in overthrowing the First Consul.*” Moreau answered, “ *against*

* “ *Me voila,*” dit Pichegru, “ *il ne faut pas perdre un moment à culbuter le premier consul.*” Moreau lui répondit, “ *jene puis rien contre le premier consul vivant, mais je puis tout contre le premier consul, mort ; tuez le premier consul, et le senat, le peuple et l’armée d’une commune voix, me nommeront à sa place. Je changerai les commandants des camps de Boulogne, et je nommerai une commission pour vous juger, Pichegru, innocenté, vous serez nommé second consul.*” “ *Bien,*” dit Georges, “ *mais alors, je veux être troisième consul.*” Moreau, “ *C’est impossible, si on savait seulement que je vous ai vu, je serais un homme perdu, j’aurais à peine mon valet de chambre pour moi.*” Georges, “ *ces sont de contes, vous voulez nous trahir, Moreau et Pichegru, vous êtes tous les deux Bleus. Quand vous serez en pouvoir, vous nous ferez fusiller. Je vous déclare franchement, bleu pur bleu, il vaut mieux Buona- parte que tout autre ?*”

“ the First Consul, living, I can undertake
 “ nothing; but I can undertake any thing
 “ against the First Consul, dead. Kill the First
 “ Consul; and the senate, the people, and the
 “ army will unanimously nominate me in
 “ his place. I will change the command-
 “ ers of the troops encamped at Bou-
 “ logne, and I will name a commission to
 “ try you, Pichegru; acquitted, you will
 “ be appointed second consul.” “ Very well,”
 cried Georges, “ but in that case I must be
 “ third consul.” “ That is impossible,” said
 Moreau. “ If it were known, that I had even
 “ seen you, I should be a lost man, I should
 “ scarcely have my valet de chambre on my
 “ side.” “ This is all a farce,” said
 Georges. “ You mean to betray us. You,
 “ Moreau and Pichegru! You are both two
 “ blues. When you get into power you will
 “ have us shot. I declare frankly to you
 “ that, blue for blue, Buonaparte is much
 “ better than any body else.”

At the termination of the conference
 Moreau promised to see his friends and to
 try what he could do; several of them he
 sounded; but it is not supposed he im-
 parted to them the whole of what was in

agitation, and thereby became more than ever convinced that it was absolutely necessary for Georges and the Chouans to commence the business, by dispatching, in the first instance, the First Consul, for which purpose, several schemes were adopted. Six fellows were charged to poniard him on the parade, at the moment he went out of the gate of the Carousel, and entered the crowd to receive petitions; but the parade never took place upon days previously fixed, and sometimes there was not one for three months. Thirty others were equipped in the uniform of the Chasseurs of the guard, and were to have attacked his carriage, between Nanterre and the Pont de Neuilly, when he went to Malmaison, to which place he generally went by night; to have charged his picquet, which did not consist of more than fifteen men, one half of whom would probably be killed by a discharge of pistols before they could defend themselves, and afterwards to massacre him in the carriage with their poniards. It is a fact, that the greater number of these Chouans were not animated by any per-

sonal hatred or malice against Napoleon, and that having plenty of money, they were wallowing in the intemperance and debaucheries of Paris; that most of them had several mistresses, and put off from day to day the difficult and dangerous part of their operations.

Pichegru had committed the greatest crime that man is capable of, that of causing his army to execute false manœuvres, on purpose that they might fall into ambuscades and snares of the enemy, and thus to cause *his own* soldiers, in executing his orders, to fall victims of his baseness and treachery.

Such was the result of this conspiracy to establish the Bourbons; it had, however, a contrary effect, and accelerated probably by several years, the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial throne. Previous to it, he had been chosen First Magistrate for life—which choice had been approved by the nation. The inconveniences attached to such a system of magistracy for life, were, however, easily foreseen. National convulsions after his death, in order to renew the supreme magistracy; attempts during his life, in

the hope of, by a single blow, overturning the state, were the consequences naturally to be expected. The heads of the administration, the magistrates, the clergy, the people, and the army, demanded, with a common voice, an hereditary magistrature, or a monarchy. The empire, first proposed in the tribunate, was proclaimed in the senate, and ratified by the people.

This was the third time that the election of Napoleon had been sanctioned by the voice of the people. First, as First Consul, he had 3,011,009 votes for him, and 1362 against; secondly, in 1802, when nominated First Consul for life, he had 3,568,835 votes for him, and 8374 against; and finally, for the empire, 3,574,898 for him, and 2569 against.

Napoleon was consecrated and crowned Emperor of the French, on the 2d of December, 1804, by the Pope, the head of the catholic religion, who, with a number of his cardinals, had quitted his capital, crossed the Alps, and arrived at Paris for that purpose. A year afterwards, in 1805, on the anniversary of the same day, the 2d of December,

he gained the famous victory of Austerlitz, over the Emperors of Russia and Austria.

The curiosity of the Parisian populace was excited at the coronation by the appearance of an Abbé mounted upon a mule bearing a crucifix in his hand, and preceding the holy Father to the church. Several festivals were given in consequence of the Pope's stay in Paris, and he frequently dined in public with Napoleon. A singular circumstance occurred on the evening of the 2d of December, which occupied the attention of every body—a balloon, on which was written in large letters the account of the coronation, was let off and arrived at Rome in the space of twenty-four hours from Paris, making known to the inhabitants of the first city, that Napoleon had been consecrated by their chief.

I have the honor,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER VII.

Cape of Good Hope,
18th May, 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

THIS letter, as well as the preceding one, will be taken up in discussing the subjects treated upon in Mr. Warden's seventh letter.—Of the inaccuracies contained therein, I shall take no notice, but simply recount to you, events as they actually occurred, and all that I have already said, respecting the source from which I derive my information, and the correctness of it, applies in this place.

Napoleon entered the service as a lieutenant of artillery, in the regiment of La Fère, in 1785. In 1789, he was made captain, and lieutenant-colonel in 1793, at which period he commenced his political career at the siege of Toulon, being then twenty-four years of age—to this siege he was sent, as being an officer of an old corps of some reputation. Here it was, he displayed for the

first time, those military talents which since exalted the glory of the French armies to such a height—he here made prisoner, with his own hand, General O'Hara, the commander in chief of our forces in Toulon. In November 1793, that general made a sortie with a body of six thousand men, in order to make himself master of a French battery which played upon Fort Malbosquet, in which he succeeded, and spiked the guns in it. Dugommier, the French commander in chief, threw himself amongst his troops, and rallied them, whilst his right arm, the commander of the artillery, as he was already styled, employed himself in first placing some field pieces upon different little hillocks, to support the retreat and dispute the ground with the English, in case their general should endeavour to follow up his success as far as Oliales, intending to make himself master of the park of artillery attached to the French army, which was placed a little in advance of that village. Having done this, he went to a rising ground opposite to the battery occupied by our troops; he

then, with a battalion of four hundred men, crept along a trench covered with olive branches, which communicated, from the rising ground he had occupied, with the battery, and which had been dug for the purpose of conveying powder and provisions. In this manner, he arrived, undiscovered, at the foot of the battery, from whence he commenced a fire from right to left, upon the English and Neapolitans by whom it was occupied, without their being able to discover from whence it came. An English colonel (as was then supposed) who was in the battery, mounted the parapet, in order to discover from what point this strange attack was made. A serjeant of a battalion of the French party fired at him and broke his arm. The colonel, (who turned out afterwards to be General O'Hara) fell at the foot of the battery, by the side of the trench. The soldiers threw themselves upon him, and were upon the point of dispatching him, when he was rescued by Napoleon, who grasped and preserved him in that critical situation, from every insult and danger, and to

whom he presented his sword and declared his name and rank. Napoleon also, afterwards, used his influence so effectually in his favour, that he was treated as became a man of his rank, notwithstanding the inhuman laws which then existed against the English. For this he was made colonel—and afterwards when Toulon was taken, general of brigade. During 1794, he was made commander in chief of the artillery of the army of Italy, and as such directed the operations which gained to the French Saorgio, the Col du Tende, and the heights of Savona and Vado. Arrived at Paris, he was employed by the Committee of Public Safety to direct the movements of the armies. On the 13th of Vendemiaire, the Convention gave him the command of the troops, when by the excellence of the dispositions he adopted, he caused the Convention to triumph over its enemies, although he had only five or six hundred men to defend that body against all the population of Paris. As to this interesting event, I have been informed, that the conventionalist army fired ball and

grape-shot only, until they were sure of victory, which was the work of a quarter of an hour—and, that immediately afterwards, they fired and continued to do so all the evening and night, blank cartridge only—and that to this was to be attributed the trifling loss sustained by the Parisians, which Napoleon states, in his history, not to have amounted to more than between three and four hundred men in killed and wounded. After this memorable day, which baffled all the projects of the enemies of the revolution, General Menou was brought before a military commission: he had commanded the conventionalist troops the evening before the 13th; he was accused of having betrayed his cause, and his destruction appeared inevitable, when Napoleon had recourse to a plan which met with the most perfect success; he declared to the officers composing the military commission, that Menou was guilty and deserved death, but that there had been placed over him, three commissioners of the Convention, who were still more culpable, and that as soon as the Convention had punished these three commissioners,

Menou's death would be just. This had the desired effect at once, the *esprit de corps* was mortified, by seeing Menou only brought to trial, he was unanimously acquitted, and afterwards preserved an eternal gratitude to the author of his deliverance.

During the month of May 1796, the army of Italy was in a most deplorable state. Napoleon was called to it by the opinion of the troops, who had great confidence in him, from the talents he had displayed at Toulon, and during the two years in which he had directed the movements of that army, under the title of Commandant of Artillery. The event justified their choice, he surmounted every obstacle, subdued the king of Sardinia, and made himself master of all Italy. After the battle of Lodi, and the capture of Milan, and above all, after the battle of Castiglione, and Wurmser's defeat, his military reputation stood very high, and he became as much the favourite, and the hope of the friends of republicanism, as he had been the terror of their enemies. The Bourbon party, who from London, from

the Rhine and Warsaw, endeavoured to create partizans, and who had succeeded in gaining over Pichegru, made many efforts also with Napoleon, but all in vain. I have heard it asserted, that agents sent from that party in London, after having passed through Paris, a few months before the 18th Fructidor, went to Milan, in order to renew some intrigue, and to seduce the triumphant general of Italy ; that they had a conference with Pichegru, but that this last named said to them, “ Softly, softly ; “ mind what you are about, I have known “ Buonaparte since he was ten years old, “ you will not succeed there in any thing, “ if he had been for the Bourbons he “ would have emigrated, but, having “ adopted another way of thinking “ there is nothing to be hoped from “ him.”

In consequence of the revolution which took place in Brumaire, after his return from Egypt, he was appointed First Consul. The Sieur Hyde, the same who has since been president of the Chamber of Deputies, and another person named

Daubigné, an old officer of the army, and chief of the royalists who were in Paris, were presented to him at eleven o'clock at night, in a small apartment of the Luxembourg. The object of these two agents of the Count d'Artois was, to propose to Napoleon the assistance of all the Vendéans and the royalist party, if he would enter into engagements with them; and Napoleon's object, on his side, was to endeavour to gain them, and discover the different ramifications of their party. Neither the one nor the other, however, succeeded. "I forget the past," said Napoleon, "and I open a great field for what is to come: whoever marches strait forwards will be protected without distinction; whoever deviates either to the right or left will be stricken by the thunder. Let all the Vendéans who are willing to enter into the national government and under my protection, place themselves in the great road pointed out to them; *but a government protected by foreigners* will never be accepted by the French nation."— Hyde was afterwards implicated as a party to the

plot of the infernal machine on the 3d Nivose.*

Some months afterwards a new attempt was made by the Bourbons. The Count de Lille—now Louis the XVIIIth, wrote with his own hand, a letter to Napoleon, which he gave to the Abbé Montesquieu, who was afterwards member of the provisional government of 1814. The Abbé gave it to the consul Le Brun, who delivered it to Napoleon. It was as follows :
 “ You delay a long time in restoring to
 “ me my throne. You lose a precious
 “ opportunity which you will never have
 “ again.—Without me, you can never
 “ render France happy, and without you
 “ I can never maintain her glory—choose
 “ your rank—be assured of whatever
 “ lot you desire for your friends.—Every
 “ thing you engage for shall be ratified.”
 The morning after Napoleon returned the following answer by the same channel, to Louis—“ I have received your letter, and
 “ thank you for the flattering expressions
 “ it contains of me; but neither your-

* This same fellow is, we believe, now minister from Louis to the United States of America.

“ self, nor any other prince of your family
 “ ought ever to desire to enter France
 “ again —to accomplish that, you
 “ must trample over the carcasses of five
 “ hundred thousand Frenchmen. I am
 “ alive to the unheard of misfortunes
 “ of your family, and I will endeavour
 “ to do every thing in my power to
 “ secure you a retreat and tranquil-
 “ lity.”

After this, I do not believe that
 any attempt was made by the Bour-
 bons to suborn Napoleon to their views.
 A step taken by a Prussian agent
 with the Count de Lille, in order to
 induce the latter to surrender his
 rights to Napoleon, and which gave
 rise to a declaration from the princes
 of the house of Bourbon, has been
 spoken of. This step, I have been as-
 sured, was never authorized by the
 French government ; and that so far from
 it, that government would not have re-
 ceived their renunciation if they had sent
 it, as being contrary to all the principles
 of the sovereignty of the people, upon
 which the republic was founded ; but,
 that the cabinet of Berlin having asked

a supply of money for the princes of the house of Bourbon, who were then at Warsaw or Memel, an answer was vaguely returned, that the French nation would not regret any pecuniary sacrifice, provided the princes of that house would live in tranquillity, and abstain from creating disturbances in the country, which answered no other end than causing domestic crimes, robbing some diligences, and the murder of a few of the purchasers of natural domains.—This answer, it is said, the Bourbon princes availed themselves of, in order to make a great parade, which was laughed at by every body.

In his history, Napoleon states, that after the last unsuccessful attempt made by Louis in 1800, the Bourbons having lost all hopes, turned their views towards getting rid of him by assassination. In the manuscript I have mentioned I think the number of attempts made by Chouans and royalists, is stated to have amounted to seven—all were discovered before the time of their execution, excepting that of the infernal machine, which horrible attempt took place on the evening of the 3d Ni-

vose (24th of December, 1800.) An opera was performed in the hall of the oratorio, and the artists were very desirous that Napoleon should be present. Having, however, passed the greater part of the day at the council of state, and being greatly fatigued, he fell asleep at seven o'clock, after his dinner, upon a sofa in his wife's drawing-room, who, shortly after he awoke, pressed him to partake of a little amusement—to do which, he displayed great unwillingness. However, Marshals Bessieres and Lasnes having arrived in the meantime, he agreed, and got into his carriage, accompanied by those two officers, attended by his usual escort of pages, out-riders, and a dozen of horse grenadiers, of which last, two rode with the outriders about twenty paces in front of the carriages. After passing the gates of the Carousel, to get to the rue de Richelieu, it was necessary to pass through the rue de l'Echelle and the rue St. Hilaire. At the corner of the last, there was a small two-wheeled cart, with a cask mounted upon it, exactly resembling those which are used in that

capital to water the streets. This was the infernal machine—some Chouans arrived, it is stated, a short time before from ———, amongst whom were Imolan, St. Regent, Carbon, Corter, St. Hilaire, Joyan, Songe, and others were stationed to explode it. Imolan having advanced a few paces to meet the carriage, in order to ascertain that it was the First Consul's, received a blow from one of the advanced grenadiers, and was by his boots knocked down upon the ground; he got up, ran to the machine, and fired it, but not before the carriage had turned the corner: Napoleon describes the first sensations he felt (before he heard the noise of the explosion and saw the falling of the roofs of the houses) to have been a rocking motion, as if the vehicle had been borne by the waves of the sea, and at that instant the carriage-windows were shattered to atoms. The coachman, being in liquor, fortunately took the noise of the explosion for a salute fired in honour of the Consul, and flogged his horses as hard as he was able, so that only one man (the last of the escort) not having turned the

corner was wounded and thrown to the ground. Napoleon's consort, and his sister Caroline, then pregnant, followed his carriage at the distance of about one hundred paces, and the machine exploded between them.—General Rapp, who was in the carriage with them, immediately sprung out, and endeavoured to quiet the alarm of the ladies, who thought that Napoleon was killed, until assured of the contrary a few moments afterwards, by the grenadiers of the escort. As soon as the carriage had passed the Théâtre de la République, Napoleon, being very uneasy about his wife, stopped, and ordered the piquet to go and meet her; then went on to the opera; and although all the glasses in the house were immediately pointed at him, it is said that nothing unusual was observed by his countenance. A few moments afterwards, however, they were undeceived by the arrival of the women, whose pallid faces, in which consternation was evidently portrayed, and a profusion of tears, plainly demonstrated that some untoward event had occurred.

The explosion of the machine destroyed five or six houses, killed about a dozen of the inhabitants, and wounded thirty. The trial of such of the offenders as could be found, was held publicly, according to form, before the criminal tribunal of Paris, and the proceedings were printed in two volumes. St. Regent and Carbon were executed at the Place de Grève. Imolan succeeded in effecting his escape to America, where, it is said, he has since turned monk. Georges, who was then in Brittany, and the count d'A——, then in London, were recognized as the horrible contrivers of this attempt.

To explain to you, however, by what means the real authors of this project were discovered, and the manner in which the royalists had at first received the idea of the infernal machine from a club of Septembrizers who had been discovered, and with whom the agents of the party communicated in their prison, would take up too much time, and lead me too far away from the original subject. The indignation excited in

Paris by the attempt was extreme ; and subsequent to it down to 1804, I have read in the manuscript, that five others were made to assassinate Napoleon, all said to be directed by the count d'A——.

In the same manuscript the conspiracy of Moreau, Pichegru and Georges is related as follows : — “ Pichegru and
 “ Georges were disembarked from Eng-
 “ lish ships from the coast of France, se-
 “ conded from the borders of Germany by
 “ the intrigues of —— at Munich and
 “ ——at Stutgard. It was proved that a
 “ prince of the house of Bourbon was to
 “ disembark at the Falaise de Beville,
 “ as soon as intelligence should be re-
 “ ceived of the assassination of Napoleon.
 “ And as fears were entertained that the
 “ wind, always independent, and never
 “ subordinate to the vain calculations of
 “ man, should prove unfavourable, and
 “ prevent the intended disembarkation,
 “ it was decided, that the Duc D'Enghien,
 “ then in Germany, should, immediately
 “ upon being made acquainted with it,
 “ proceed to Paris as the representative
 “ of the king, for it was deemed that the
 “ presence of a prince of the blood was

“ indispensable. The Duc d’Enghien, a
 “ young prince of the greatest bravery,
 “ lived four leagues from the frontiers of
 “ France. It was proved that he there
 “ carried on a correspondence with Stras-
 “ burg, where his agents had shewn
 “ themselves, and that several times in
 “ the week, under pretence of hunting,
 “ he had conferences upon the banks of
 “ the Rhine with agents from the in-
 “ terior; that all the agents in the English
 “ pay, had received orders to unite in the
 “ Brisgau, and the duchy of Baden; that
 “ this Prince had with him at Offembourg,
 “ a person named *Massey*, an emigrant-
 “ agent, who served as the means of his
 “ correspondence with ——— and ———,
 “ and furnished the necessary supplies
 “ of money for all the plots. Upon this,
 “ Napoleon judged that it was abso-
 “ lutely necessary to secure the person
 “ of the Duc d’Enghien, and according-
 “ ly a regiment of dragoons crossed the
 “ Rhine at Neuf-Brisach, at seven in the
 “ evening; invested the Prince’s house in
 “ the night, made him a prisoner, and con-
 “ ducted him to Strasburg, from whence
 “ he was instantly taken to Paris, brought

“ before a military commission accord-
 “ ing to the laws, condemned to death, and
 “ the sentence executed and posted up all
 “ over Paris. The tribunal was not com-
 “ posed arbitrarily, but formed ac-
 “ cording to law of all the colonels in
 “ the garrison of Paris. The Prince avowed
 “ his having borne arms against the
 “ republic, having solicited and obtained
 “ a new employment from England, and
 “ being privy to, and taking an active
 “ part in, the events of the day.” In the
 manuscript, Napoleon is made to state,
 “ that if the Count d’Artois had been
 “ taken under similar circumstances, he
 “ would have been tried and executed in
 “ a like manner ; that the laws of France
 “ were positive against those who bore
 “ arms against their country ; the
 “ Prince was besides one of the chiefs
 “ of the great conspiracy then plotting.”

Even those who wished to maintain
 that he was not privy to the conspiracy,
 have agreed, that his death was to be
 attributed to the Count d’Artois, (in fact
 the latter was frequently reproached by
 the unfortunate Prince’s father, the Duc

de Bourbon, as having been so) who, at the moment whilst he was planning the overturning of the republic and the assassination of the first magistrate of the republic, left a prince of his blood in the power of that very magistrate.—“ The “ affair of the Duc d’Enghien,” says Napoleon, “ ought to be judged by the law “ of nature and policy.” “ By the “ law of nature,” he maintains, “ that “ he was not only authorised to cause “ him to be tried, but even to procure “ his being put to death. What,” said he, “ can be alleged in favor of the princes “ of a house, who were publicly convicted of being the contrivers of the “ infernal machine, and who had actually “ disgorged sixty brigands upon Paris, for “ the purpose of causing me to be assassinated ? Was not I, by the laws of “ nature, authorized to cause the Count “ d’Artois to be assassinated in London ? “ By the law of policy, the whole republic tottered upon the brink of a “ precipice, and the Duc d’Enghien was “ one of the chiefs who conspired “ its fall ; and besides, it was neces-

“ sary to check the audacity of the Bour-
 “ bons, who had sent to Paris sixty of
 “ their adherents, amongst whom were
 “ the Rivières, the Polignacs, Bouvets
 “ and others; people of no ordinary
 “ stamp, and not brigands or murderers
 “ accustomed to assassinations and rob-
 “ beries like the Chouans. The repub-
 “ lican government could not, consistent
 “ with its dignity, do less, when the
 “ assassination of its chief was publicly
 “ plotted—than cause its thunder to
 “ strike the family which dared to engage
 “ in such attempt.”

It is stated in the manuscript, that,
 in some of the French journals printed in
 London at this time, several extracts
 from a pamphlet published in Cromwell's
 time, entitled “ Killing no Murder,”
 were to be found. It proceeds, by stat-
 ing, that for four years, Napoleon had
 united all parties, which until then
 had divided France, the list of emigrants
 had been closed: at first several erasures
 had been made in it; afterwards, differ-
 ent names were suffered quietly to drop
 out; and finally, an amnesty was granted
 to all who were willing to enter again

into the bosom of their native land,—and all their existing goods and chattels, and all such as had not been sold, were restored to them. None remained upon the list but a few persons attached to the princes, or declared enemies to the revolution, who had refused to profit by the amnesty.—Nearly one hundred thousand emigrants re-entered France in this manner, who were subject to no other conditions than taking the oath of obedience and fidelity to the republic—and Napoleon states, that it afforded him the greatest consolation of which man is susceptible, in being thus able to organize anew, more than thirty thousand families, and to restore to their native country, the remaining descendants of those heroes, who had rendered France so illustrious in different ages. Even those, who still continued emigrants, frequently obtained passports to visit their friends and relations. Religion was re-established, and the exiled and transported priests were again placed at the head of the dioceses and parishes, and paid by the republic. Notwithstanding, continues the narration, all these

regulations produced a wonderful amelioration in public affairs, still, however, an unavoidable inconvenience arose from such an extremely indulgent system, viz. “the emboldening of the enemies of the republic, the Bourbon party and the hopes of foreign powers.” An act of rigour was therefore necessary; and one which should plainly manifest, that moderation was not feebleness; and which would shew, beyond the possibility of a doubt, to the Bourbons, the lot which awaited them, and the risks which they incurred by still continuing to persist in such attempts; that it was, in fact, necessary to make them *fully* acquainted with the position in which they stood.

When the Duc d’Enghien had arrived at Strasbourg, he wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he stated “that his rights to the crown were very distant; that for a length of time, his family had lost their claims: and promised, if pardon was granted to him, to discover every thing he knew of the plots of the enemies of France; and to serve the First Consul faithfully.” This letter was not presented by Talleyrand to Napo-

leon until it was too late. The young prince was no more. In the manuscript Napoleon states, "*Perhaps, if this letter had been presented in time, the political advantages which would have accrued from his declarations and his services, would have decided the First Consul to pardon him.*" He further states, that it is entirely and absolutely false, that any solicitation was made to him, in favor of the Duc d'Enghien, either by Josephine, or by any other person whatever; that on the contrary, the whole cabinet were unanimous in their opinion, of the necessity of making the just reprisal; and that Talleyrand was warmer than any other, because his constant maxim was, that it was necessary to destroy *all the Bourbons*, in order to insure the tranquillity of France.

I have taken considerable pains to make myself acquainted with the truth of an assertion, that an offer had been made to procure the assassination of the Count d'Artois, and the other Bourbon princes, even in the bosom of Old England, and that the proposal was made by a person well acquainted with our sys-

tem of police. It is not at all difficult to imagine, that a government which had so many millions at its disposal, might easily, if so inclined, have procured emissaries to execute such a project, or at least might have tried it so many times, as either to render its ultimate success certain, or else the attempts made for that purpose must have come to our knowledge. Such an attempt it appears evidently, never was made, and it is asserted, that Napoleon answered when the proposal was made, “ Je n’ai jamais commis de crime, je n’en commettrai point, pour me defaire des princes qui n’ont point de consistance, et qui n’ont aucune influence en France.”

Louis the XVIIIth is unreservedly acquitted by Napoleon, and the remainder of the exiles, of having had any participation in the plan for assassination. He is said to have been invariably more moderate, and never privy to, or concerned in, any such criminal attempts.

I have the honor,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER VIII.

Cape of Good Hope,
26th of May, 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

THIS letter will be a continuation of the preceding one, and I will commence by giving you the substance of a conversation I had with Bertrand upon the subject of Napoleon's elevation.

“ Napoleon,” said he, “ arrived at the
“ summit of human grandeur, by upright
“ means, and without having committed
“ any private action which would be
“ disowned by morality. In this re-
“ spect his elevation is unique in his-
“ tory, for in order to reign himself
“ David destroyed the house of Saul,
“ his benefactor: Cæsar destroyed the
“ government of his country; Crom-
“ well caused his master to perish
“ on a scaffold; Catherine the Second
“ her husband to be assassinated.
“ Napoleon was a stranger to all the
“ crimes of the revolution, as, ere his

“ political career commenced, the throne
 “ had fallen; Louis the XVIth had pe-
 “ rished, and France was torn to pieces
 “ by factions. His career commenced
 “ with the conquest of Italy, and the
 “ peace of Campo Formio. He caused
 “ the independence of France to be ac-
 “ knowledged by all the powers of
 “ Europe. When,” continued he, “ in
 “ 1800, he arrived at supreme power, he
 “ put down anarchy, and mounted the
 “ throne by the universal consent of the
 “ people and the army.”

Having asked him for some details re-
 specting the affair at Jaffa, he answered,
 “ Why do you not ask me about the assas-
 “ sination of Kleber, of Desaix, Hoche,
 “ the Duc d’Abrantes, the Duc de Mon-
 “ tebello, and others! for I have read
 “ in your English publications, that
 “ he was guilty of all these, as well as
 “ divers others.” During the time that I
 was in France myself, I never could suc-
 ceed in obtaining any other answer, upon
 this subject, from any of the French officers,
 who had served in Egypt, than “ *cela est*
 “ *par trop absurde?*” Count de las Casas,
 however, lent me for half an hour two

chapters of the campaigns of Syria, from which I could only extract the following, being rather pressed for time.

“ El-Arish, the first post met with in Egypt, is an Oasis situated in the desert, which separates Africa from Asia. In it are to be found five or six wells, which afford a sufficient quantity of water for an army of 30,000 men, and a wood of palm-trees, which would afford shade and shelter to about a similar number. There is a tolerable large village, and a fort built of stone. Djezzar Pacha, appointed by the Port Seraskier of Egypt, sent there his advanced guard, composed of about 4000 men, of whom 1500 were cavalry. As soon as Napoleon was informed of this, he dispatched General Regnier on the 9th of February to retake so important a post. On the 9th Regnier attacked the village of El-Arish, drove out the Turkish advanced guard, made three hundred prisoners and surrounded the fort, in which were pent up about two thousand men, Maugrebins and Arnauts, who formed the infantry of the advanced guard, and who were under the orders of four

captains, each of whom was independent of the other. The cavalry retreated about half a league, and took up a position, covered by a hollow way, which defended the road to Syria, where they remained without any fear, as the French had not more than two hundred light cavalry with them. Abdallah, who commanded Djezzar Pacha's army, was at Kan-Youses in Syria, from whence he put himself in motion with five or six thousand men, comprising both infantry and cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon (amongst whom were Ibrahim Bey's Mamelukes) and took a position in the evening of the 12th of February, behind his cavalry opposite El-Arish. The position of the French advanced guard, would have been extremely critical, had it not been for the arrival of Kleber at day-light, with his division, and Murat with a body of eight hundred cavalry. Kleber undertook the blockade of the fort, and Regnier placed himself with his divisions upon the borders of the ravine in order to repress the Turkish army. In this position he remained the 13th and 14th. During

the night of the 14th and 15th, he quitted his camp, ascended the ravine for about a league, and then crossed it. His division was composed of three regiments of infantry, which he placed in order of battle, changing his front, the right in advance, his left supported by the ravine. His order of battle was formed in three close columns at deploying distance, and at two hundred paces in front of each column, he placed the grenadiers and voltigeurs of each regiment (about one hundred and fifty men) and sixty of the picked cavalry. Formed in this manner, he approached the Turkish army. At about two o'clock in the morning, when he was sufficiently near, he halted, dressed his lines, and moved on with the advanced guards of the columns—threw them into the midst of the camp, by three different directions, and produced the greatest terror and confusion in it—and proceeded himself straight to the Pacha's tent, who had barely time to save himself on foot, half dressed. All the army was dispersed, leaving their tents, baggage, artillery, and provisions, with

about one hundred and fifty killed, and more than twelve hundred prisoners—one thousand saddle and draught horses, and five hundred camels, and the fugitives did not begin to rally until they reached to Kan-Youses. At day-light the next morning, Napoleon, who had traversed the desert with great expedition upon a dromedary, arrived, and summoned the garrison of El-Arish, and was answered with the greatest insolence. A battery of four twelve-pounders was established against it, by taking advantage of a large stone store which was about a pistol-shot from the fort. A practicable breach was soon made, and then the four captains proposed to parley, for which purpose they went to the general in chief's tent, where they demanded an armistice of fifteen days, offering, if not relieved in that time, to surrender. After two hours spent in useless discussions, during which their four captains who had the appearance of banditti, appeared very resolute, and confident of being succoured, the conference was broken up. The success of an assault was infallible, but it would

probably cost six or seven hundred men. The artillery was again directed against it, and fired with such quickness and precision, that in the course of the morning, they threw from seven to eight hundred shells, the great number of which burst in the fort, where, as it was extremely small, they caused a frightful slaughter, and it was covered with dead bodies, and deluged with blood. The garrison, in consequence, became a little more calm—new parleys took place, and the four captains signed a capitulation. The fort was surrendered at daylight, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, laid down their colours and arms, and became prisoners—agreeing not to carry arms against the French, but to proceed by the desert to Bagdat, and not to enter Syria again for two years. Three hundred of them (Maugrebins) volunteered into the French army, five hundred had been killed or wounded, and twelve hundred were escorted by a detachment of dromedaries, for two days march in the desert, in the direction of Bagdat. In the fort, three pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, several

hundred camels, and a great quantity of provisions were found. On the 22d of February, two hours before day-light, General Kleber formed the advanced guard of the army, and marched towards Syria, with orders to proceed as far as Kan-Youses, though he had twelve French leagues (seventeen of theirs) to cross. Two hours after mid-day, Napoleon departed with one hundred dromedaries and one hundred cavalry, to join his advanced guard; he proceeded at a brisk trot, but in passing by Santon de Kanouba, he observed with astonishment, that the trenches in which the Arabs concealed their straw, corn, and sometimes roots, had not been ransacked by the soldiers. No stragglers were met with, which, however, was not extraordinary, as fear of the Bedouins effectually prevented any such from being seen in the army. Having arrived at the Wells of Rapka, where the two columns, which separate Africa from Asia, are placed, he was alarmed at not perceiving any traces of water spilt, as the French advanced guard ought to have passed there about two hours be-

fore. He, then, was not more than two leagues distant from Kan-Youses, he continued his march, and when he came opposite that village, the day was nearly spent ; two chasseurs of the advanced guard fired a couple of shots, and immediately afterwards a handsome camp presented itself to their view, which turned out to belong to the Turks, who immediately flew to arms. What then had become of Kleber and his advanced guard ? An immediate retreat was decided upon, although the horses were greatly fatigued ; and they arrived at the Wells of Zawi at ten o'clock at night, having been pursued by the Turkish Pacha (who had mounted on horseback) with his cavalry, for about half a league, when, as the night had become extremely dark, he was apprehensive of an ambuscade, and returned to his camp. For some hours, the detachment was a prey to a thousand reflections of a most desponding nature. At two o'clock in the morning, however, a party of the *dromedaries* who had been sent in the direction where they expected to find a miserable hut, occupied by some Arabs, whose oc-

cupation was feeding a few droves of camels returned, bringing with them one of the Arabs, who gave information that “ a French army as numerous as “ the stars in the heavens, or the grains of “ sand in the desert,” had taken the route for Mecca. Guided by this Arab, Napoleon mounted his dromedary and marched on ; at day-light he encountered some dragoons who appeared harassed with fatigue, from whom intelligence was received, that Kleber had mistaken the way, and that the soldiers surprised at not arriving at Santon de Karouba, where, according to the information which they had received, they would find the trenches with roots, suspected that they had lost their way ; that Kleber had immediately halted them ; that they had had only a sufficiency of water for their soup, and that in the night they had commenced their march anew in order to return by the way they had come ; for, in consequence of the original intention having been that the advanced-guard should avail themselves of the Wells of Rapka and arrive at Kan-Youses in one day, they had only with

them camels carrying a sufficiency of water for that day. Two hours afterwards Napoleon fell in with the division. The soldiers, the moment they perceived him, burst into cries of joy. Harassed with fatigue and thirst, their minds were completely bewildered ; some of the young soldiers, in despair, had even broken their muskets. Hope returned to them at the sight of their general, who assembled and harangued them nearly as follows : “ I am followed by several
“ camels laden with water, who will arrive
“ in less than three hours, but even allowing that they were at a greater distance, learn to die with honour and
“ without murmuring.” In fact they did arrive at Zawi at noon, where they fell in with the other division, and the camels laden with skins of water. Napoleon then pushed on with Lasnes’ division, and arrived at Kan-Youses on the 24th, from whence the Turkish army had departed. No rencontre took place between the two armies until they arrived near to Gaza. The Turks did not sustain the shock for a moment ; the fort and town of Gaza were taken, and the

French head-quarters were established at Uzote on the 1st of March, and at Rumslé on the 2d. An advanced-guard was directed upon Jerusalem, where a thousand Christians were in prison and under the poniards of the Turks. Napoleon, however, secretly concluded an armistice with the Pacha, and being thereby in security with respect to his right flank, marched against Jaffa on the 4th, which was invested and several batteries of twelve pounders directed against it. It was fortified only by a single wall, but there was a garrison of six or seven hundred men, amongst whom was a corps of artillery from Constantinople, which had been instructed by French officers. When the batteries were ready to open, a flag of truce was sent to summon the place; a quarter of an hour afterwards, the head of the unfortunate man, who had borne it, was seen stuck upon the end of a pike, and his mutilated carcase thrown over the walls. This was the signal to begin: in three hours a breach was made in one of the towers; forty or fifty grenadiers and a dozen of sappers made a lodgment in it; the column followed;

the place was taken by assault ; nothing could stop the fury of the soldiery ; almost every body they encountered was shot, and the place delivered up to pillage. During the night the disorder was terrible, and no sort of order could be established until day. As many as had been saved of the unfortunate garrison were sent prisoners to Egypt, with the exception of about eight hundred men who were shot. They were the remainder of the twelve hundred of the garrison of El Arish, who after having marched three days in the direction of Bagdat*,

* Capitulation of El-Arish.

The Commandant of the fort of El-Arish, and the other three Commandants of the troops, to the General in Chief.

We have received the capitulation which you have addressed to us, we consent to deliver into your hands, the fort of El-Arish. We will return to Bagdat by the Desert. We send you the list of the Agas of the fort, who promise, upon oath, for themselves and their troops, not to serve in Djezzar's army, and not to return to Syria for the space of one year, reckoning from this day. We will receive a pass and colours from you. We will leave in the castle all the supplies which are found there. The whole of the Agas in the

had changed their route, violated their capitulation, and thrown themselves into Jaffa. Prudence would not admit of their being sent to Cairo. Accustomed to the Desert, they would have all escaped in their march, and they would have been found again in Acre. About four thousand Turks perished in Jaffa, and about three thousand were saved, namely, twelve hundred sent prisoners to Egypt; thirteen hundred soldiers and servants, natives of Egypt, who were set at liberty as fellow countrymen; and five hundred were sent to carry the fort, solemnly swear by our Lord, Moses, Abraham, by the Prophet (to whom may God be propitious) and by the Koran, to execute, faithfully, all these articles, and above all not to serve Djazzar.—The Most High, and His Prophet are witnesses of our good faith.

Signed.—IBRAHIM NIRAN, Commandant of the Fort of El-Arish.

EL. H. HADJY MOHAMMED, Colonel of the Mogrebins.

EL. H. HADJY ZADYR, Aga of the Arnauts.

MOHAMMED AGA, Chief of the Commissaries.

news of the French victory to Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, &c. &c.”

It would render this letter too long, and besides I had not time to take notes, with that exactness I had determined to observe in all I related, concerning the march of the French from Jaffa to St. Jean d'Acre, or of the details of the siege of that city, or of the battles which took place at Mount Tabor against the armies of Damascus and Aleppo. Suffice it to say, that on the 20th of May, the French raised the siege, and following the track along the sea-side encamped on the ruins of Cesarea. On the 24th they arrived at Jaffa, having with them about a thousand men, who had been wounded at the siege of Acre, and who occupied all the means of transport in their possession. These men with the sick in the hospitals of Jaffa were sent by sea, with orders to make the best of their way to Damietta. At this time, the plague raged in the French hospitals, and every day five or six died victims to it. Those who were strongest amongst the sick, were sent out first, and as soon as a boat was laden, it proceeded on, and the last boat contained those, of

whose recovery there was very little hope. Napoleon gave orders for the army to depart on the 27th of May, and on the 26th, according to his usual custom, sent one of his aid-de-camps* to visit the hospitals and stores, in order to be perfectly satisfied that his orders had been strictly carried into execution. The aid-de-camp reported to him that the whole had been evacuated with the exception of *seven* men, of whose recovery the medical officers despaired, and who could not be moved; inasmuch, as they would infect with the plague whoever approached them; that some of those unfortunate wretches, on perceiving that they were abandoned to their fate in this manner, had loudly demanded death, with lamentable cries, representing, that the Turks, upon their arrival, would practice unheard-of cruelties upon them—(in fact, it was customary for those barbarous monsters to cut off “*les parties*,” the nose, and scoop out the eyes of those who were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands.) The surgeons on duty at the hospital, had demanded authority from the aid-de-camp to gratify their desires, by giving

* This aid-de-camp was Lavalette.

them (at the last moment) opium ; stating, that it was inhuman and horrible to abandon those men in such a manner, and that the maxim “do as you would that others should do unto you,” ought to be put in practice. Notwithstanding this, Napoleon ordered the chief physician Desgenettes, and the chief surgeon Laweg to be called, in order to ascertain if there was not still some possibility of sending away the abovementioned unfortunate men, and recommended, that they should be put on horseback and the horses be led—offering for that purpose, his own saddle-horses ; but the physician declared this to be impossible, and added, that the men had not twenty-four hours longer to live. They moreover stated, that in the course of their consultation, touching the possibility of sending them away, they had deliberated upon the propriety of giving them opium, but that Desgenettes had been of opinion, that as his profession was to cure, he could not possibly authorize such a measure. Upon this, Napoleon delayed the departure of the army for twenty-four hours. Nothing was urgent ; he was master of all the country, and Djezzar Pacha had not stirred out of Acre. A rear-guard of three hun-

ded cavalry did not leave the town until four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, forty-eight hours after the visit of the aid-de-camp to the hospital, and not until the seven sick men were reported to be all dead. This circumstance, which has been so much misrepresented, is in reality a proof of his humanity and care towards his troops, who, in return, are stated to have invariably considered him as their father: and probably, no other general ever possessed in so eminent a degree the affections of his soldiers.

I shall now speak to you concerning the rumour, which has been circulated and believed amongst us, of our countryman Wright, although so much has been already said upon the subject that I think it scarcely merits a serious discussion now.

“What interest,” said Bertrand, when I asked him for some explanation, “what interest could the monarch of a great empire have in putting to death a poor English captain, whom he had never seen, and scarcely knew any thing about?”

Neither could he have caused such a crime to be committed without the judges, the gens d'armes and the jailors, who are

“ at present the same persons as were then
 “ there) having been privy to it. When,”
 continued he, “ Wright, in October 1805,
 “ committed suicide, Napoleon, at the
 “ head of one hundred and fifty thousand
 “ men, had just forced the Austrian army
 “ to capitulate at Ulm, was marching
 “ upon Vienna, and was three hun-
 “ dred leagues distant from Paris. The
 “ English prisoners,” added he, “ detained
 “ at Verdun, were treated with great at-
 “ tention, and a French officer who com-
 “ manded that depot having been guilty
 “ of some extortions upon them, an en-
 “ quiry was in consequence ordered by the
 “ Emperor, and the culprit was so much
 “ afraid of his anger, that he committed
 “ suicide.”

From the same authority I obtained a
 curious anecdote of Kleber. After the
 battle of Heliopolis, and the re-capture of
 Cairo, in the months of March, April, and
 May, 1800, Kleber imposed a contribution
 of ten millions of francs upon that city.
 The Cheick Saddah, descended from one
 of the relations of the prophet, and a
 person very much revered in the East, was
 taxed a very considerable sum, which he

refused to pay. Although the disinclination of the Cheick towards the French was well known, Napoleon had always humoured, and even flattered him, for which he had been frequently blamed by several persons in the army. It happened, that the Saddah had been guilty of some impertinence, for which Kleber caused him to be seized and conducted to the citadel, where he was punished by being bastinadoed with a stick, according to the custom of the country. In consequence of this, a great uproar prevailed through the city, the *Ulemas* were extremely indignant at such treatment having been practiced. Some weeks afterwards, a man named Soliman, a native of Aleppo, was sent from Gaza by the Aga, who was with the Grand Vizir, in order to wage the "*Sacred War*" against Kleber. This man took up his abode at the mosque of Gemil-Azaar, and it has been ascertained that the Cheicks were aware of his intentions, but that being offended by the treatment which had been inflicted upon the Cheick Saddah, they made no opposition to it. The assassin taking advantage of the moment that Kleber was walking in the

garden, in the *Place Elléquier*, presented a petition to him, and while he was reading it, plunged a randjar into his bowels ; he was tried and executed, as well as four Cheicks his accomplices. Previous to this several individuals had been sent in 1798, and 99, by Djezzar Pacha, to wage the “*Sacred War*” against Napoleon ; but as the latter was greatly favoured by the Cheicks, they opposed it, and consequently saved his life. I have heard several interesting anecdotes concerning this, but my letter is already too long, suffice it therefore to say, that he was twice indebted for his life, to the respect which he paid to the customs, privileges, manners, and religion of the country.

I have the honor,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER IX.

Cape of Good Hope,
1st of July, 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

IN his eighth letter, Mr. Warden has been very inaccurate indeed. The greater part of his statement is incorrect; for example, it is impossible, that for two years, the French army could be kept in ignorance, of their being attacked by the plague. It certainly was concealed from them during the first month, by asserting, that the prevailing malady in the hospitals was a fever, accompanied with buboes, which gave time to accustom them to the name of plague, which last denomination carried with it terror and consternation to the highest pitch. A general in chief, moreover, never visits the hospitals daily, more particularly those infected with contagious distempers, and Napoleon less frequently than any other person; and if he did *once* at Jaffa, touch the buboes of those infected with the plague, it was merely for the

moment, and under particular circumstances.

I was present at Longwood, when about twenty ladies and gentlemen, who had arrived from India, were presented, Amongst them Sir W. Burroughs, Sir H. and Lady Darnley, Messrs. Strange and Arbuthnot, whom he received very courteously and cordially. It is true, he took no notice of the governor's invitation to dinner, probably because he invited General Buonaparte, to which name he never answers, and also, without doubt, because Plantation-house was out of the limits.

I have often inquired, whether Napoleon was acquainted with the prodigious number of libels, which in 1814, and even now inundate Europe, concerning him. I have been informed by Bertrand, that at Elba, he received them regularly by way of Leghorn; that he read all those which were written in French or Italian; and that he was in the habit of conversing gaily about their contents at dinner, or whilst walking; and used to observe, that he had just learned that he had poisoned, or assas-

sinated such and such a person, beaten, ill-treated or violated such and such women. The proverb “the truth only offends,” said Bertrand, was verified; that moreover these libels were advantageous to him, that the effect of them in France had only been to increase the number of his friends, and to increase their sentiments in his favor; at the same time, that they were well adapted to deceive the French government, and lull them into a false security—in fact, when Chateaubriant said, that the tyrant was abhorred by all classes of citizens—by every one bearing the name of a Frenchman, the Bourbons conceived that they could with impunity violate all the conditions of the treaty of Fontainebleau, that there was no sort of necessity for putting themselves upon their guard against whatever a man so universally execrated might attempt. In this point of view, libellers, such as I have just mentioned to you, are stated to have greatly assisted the operations of 1815, and it was discovered, said Las Casas, “that this *Nero*, who “had not even the courage to dispatch himself, who was abhorred by the people,

“ and the army, was the idol of the nation ;
 “ that he was adored in the hearts of thirty
 “ millions of people ; that he manifested
 “ a courage unknown in history, by pre-
 “ senting himself alone at the head of a
 “ thousand men to *attack the king of*
 “ *France* ; that he had *only* to shew him-
 “ self when in *twenty* days *every one* ral-
 “ lied round him ; and that in a few weeks
 “ he re-organised armies, with which he
 “ struggled against *combined Europe*. A
 “ million of the chosen warriors of
 “ Europe were put in motion and directed
 “ against France. The destinies of the
 “ world were again put in suspense ; and,
 “ victorious at Waterloo, as the profound
 “ combinations displayed by him, pro-
 “ mised he should be, the Russian and Aus-
 “ trian armies which were still at the
 “ other side of the Rhine would have been
 “ but of little consequence.”

I asked Count Montholon, “ Who is this
 “ Chateaubriant ?” He informed me that
 the man had resided in America, during part
 of the period of his emigration ; that he had
 returned to France in 1801, availing him-
 self of the amnesty, and had taken the re-

quisite oaths. His work upon "le Genie du Christianisme" made then a considerable noise ; but that Napoleon, accustomed to consider religion in a political point of view, and as it applied to the government of men, did not appear at all interested about a work, in which religion is only considered in a literary point of view and as an amusement. The Princess Eliza obtained for Chateaubriant, the situation of secretary of legation under Cardinal Fesch, who was appointed ambassador at Rome. It did not then form a part of the policy of the French government, to employ pardoned emigrants, and therefore Chateaubriant was extremely grateful, and his praises and thanks for it, knew no bounds. Arrived at Rome, he endeavoured to get forward ; he hoped, as author of the "Genie du Christianisme," to be received with distinction in the capital of the Christian world ; but he was repulsed every where : the prelates, the cardinals, the Pope, equally inveighed against him ; and instead of receiving the laurel of the Capitol, the Inquisition, if it had been then in power, would have reserved a place for him in the next Auto de Fe ! as the author of a book making a sport

of religion. Some time afterwards, he was guilty of a piece of inconsistency, which might indeed, be called treason, and which brought down upon him the anger of his master. The former king of Sardinia, after having abdicated, lived at Rome, tirely devoted to religious practices, and enjoyed a pension of one hundred thousand francs, which France paid to him. His brother (the present king of Sardinia) had neglected, probably through want of means, to pay him the allowance which he had reserved to himself. Chateaubriant be-thought himself of paying him a visit secretly and in disguise, and in a wheedling and mysterious manner broke out into complaints against the violence, which he said, had been employed in obliging him to descend from his throne. When the old king found out that the person who held such language to him was the secretary of the French legation, he became extremely indignant; and conceiving him with reason to be a spy, got rid of him as speedily as possible; in fact, he turned him out of doors, and a few days afterwards having occasion to write to Napoleon complained of the insidious step,

fearing that there was some intention of disturbing him in his repose, in the abode he had chosen for himself at Rome. The old king was, however, soon assured of the contrary by the disgrace and recal of Chateaubriant. He was afterwards appointed one of the Institute in place of Chenier, and in the discourse he made upon his reception, he pronounced a most unprecedented and fulsome eulogium upon the *Emperor*. He is reputed to be a man possessed of no religion, greatly deranged in his circumstances, and immoderately addicted to women.

I spoke to Count de las Casas, about a book entitled “ Secret Memoirs of Napoleon Buonaparte,” by a man who had never quitted him for fifteen years. I was soon convinced, as, indeed, I had before suspected it to be, that this title had been trumped up by some bookseller to create dupes, and that the author of it was totally ignorant of every thing which took place at the court of the Tuilleries, and of Napoleon’s habits ; that he had probably never entered the walls of the palace, at least, never attended any assembly or levee in them ; that he did not

know the distribution of the apartments, that, in fact, the work was a contemptible romance, in which even the names of the persons described in it were frequently mere fictions.

The information I have been able to collect with respect to the Abbé Pradt, is as follows: The Abbé Pradt emigrated, and afterwards availed himself of the amnesty, and returned to France. Being without any means whatsoever of procuring subsistence, he addressed himself to the *police*, and was amply recompensed for the services which he rendered to them. It was some time, however, before he was able to succeed in getting admittance to the ruler of France; but having insinuated himself into the good graces of Duroc, the grand marshal, whose relation he pretended to be, through the protection of this favourite, he was appointed almoner of the chapel, and took the customary oaths required of all the household—he was also made bishop of Poitiers, and afterwards archbishop of Mechlin. During the council of Paris, Napoleon frequently detained him at his levees in order to converse with him upon affairs concern-

ing the priests. Ambitious and intriguing, he availed himself of this, in order to increase his intimacy, and under colour of exalted zeal, he informed his master of numberless circumstances, which passed in the societies of the capital, where his acquaintance was very extensive. The Bishops of Nantes and Trèves, the Archbishop of Tours, and the primate of Venice, were appointed by the council of the bishops of France and Italy to proceed and meet the Pope at Savona, and the Duke of Rovigo asked permission to add the Archbishop of Mechlin to them. This met with great opposition, and produced remonstrances from the bishops. In was, in fact, associating one of the most direputable bishops in Christendom with four of the most respectable prelates in it; but, however, as it was a matter of great importance, to be informed of every thing which was said and done there, he was appointed. His conduct towards the Pope at Savona, was, however, marked with so much levity, that his colleagues were frequently obliged to remind him of the decency and respect due to a

sovereign, and especially to one who was also the chief of his religion. He was afterwards employed to observe the affairs of Spain. In 1812, he went to Dresden with the post of almoner. The Duke of Bassano being desirous of having the Baron de Bignon (who was then at Warsaw) with him at Wilna, proposed, two days before his departure from Dresden, that the Abbé de Pradt should replace him. His easy manner appeared well calculated to render him a very proper person for a place where the *ladies* have so much influence. He was known to possess some talent, address, a great desire to please, and must have been conscious that success was necessary to ensure his preferment. Nevertheless, Napoleon hesitated to entrust to a pardoned emigrant, a man who, until then, had been only employed by the government in clandestine and subordinate affairs, with a brilliant and most confidential situation; but finally, the recommendation of Duroc prevailed, who said that the Archbishop's mitre would make up for every thing, particularly in a country where the prelates were in the habit of filling the principal employments, and that

his conduct at Mechlin could not leave a doubt as to the nature of his sentiments, and his attachment to the government. Our *almoner's* conduct, however, when arrived at Warsaw, was a complete series of follies—he took a wrong turn at every step, and his conduct and writings rendered him the contempt of the Poles of all parties. As Napoleon returned from his disastrous campaign on Moscow, he staid three hours at Warsaw, where he heard nothing but complaints about him. He was even accused of treachery by thirty different persons ; and by the most moderate of incapacity, it was evident that he had not the talent necessary for the business he was entrusted with. When he was introduced into the presence of his master, he went on in his usual inconsiderate way, and gave loose to his customary *mania* of talking about war. Napoleon extremely fatigued, at first returned him no answer, but listened with coolness to his nonsense ; at last, losing patience, he took up a card which was lying upon the chimney-piece, and wrote upon it with a pencil, the following words :

“ Write to the Duc of Bassano, that on
 “ his way through Warsaw he is to send
 “ this coxcomb back to Paris.” (Faites
 une lettre au Duc de Bassano pour qu’à
 son passage par Varsovie, il renvoye ce fre-
 luquet à Paris.) This card he gave to
 Caulaincourt, who was present, and im-
 mediately, in presence of the Abbé, sat
 down to write the letter.

After Napoleon’s return, in March, 1815,
 all his detractors imagining him to be
 burning with revenge, fled from Paris ; they
 were, however mistaken. He was under too
 many obligations to them to be inclined
 to do them any harm, and they regained
 their situations. Lavatelle resumed the
 duties of his station at the Lyceum. Pichon
 was employed on a secret mission to Lon-
 don, &c. The Abbé de Pradt took a step
 quite conformable to the effrontery of
 the man—he sent Napoleon a memorial
 filled with invectives against the Bourbons,
 and the ministers who had turned him out of
 the grand chancellorship of the legion of ho-
 nour. This memorial he accompanied with
 a letter, in which he explained his conduct
 by saying, “ *that outwardly he had had the*

“ appearance of having changed, but, that in
 “ his heart, he had been always faithful to his
 “ benefactor, and to the prince who was the
 “ choice of the nation !” and concluded with
 begging to be again appointed to his situ-
 ation in the chapel. “ Oh c’est trop,” said
 Napoleon—“ quel miserable !” “ At that pe-
 “ riod,” continued the relator of the above
 anecdote, “ although there were many
 “ offences to revenge, and treacheries to pu-
 “ nish, nobody was rendered uneasy. The
 “ Duke D’Angoulême was made prisoner
 “ at the Pont Saint Esprit ; in the Moni-
 “ teur you will find the handsome letter
 “ which saved his life. Vitrolles, who had been
 “ one of the agents of the allied powers, in
 “ 1814, and who afterwards was at the head
 “ of the government of the south, (under the
 “ Duke d’Angoulême) was arrested at Tou-
 “ louse by General Laborde—he was one of
 “ the few excepted in the amnesty, and
 “ consequently liable to be shot in four
 “ and twenty hours—but not a drop of blood
 “ was shed in this memorable revolution,
 “ neither in the field of battle, to turn the
 “ Bourbons and their partizans out of France,
 “ nor by the hands of justice to revenge past
 “ offences ; which,” said he, “ forms a strik-

“ing contrast with the conduct pursued by
 “Louis the XVIIIth, *who violated the*
 “*capitulation of Paris, and filled France*
 “*with scaffolds and proscriptions.*”

All the king's ministers solicited their pardon. Clarke, Duke de Feltre, implored the indulgence of his old master, who replied, that he would not see him, but that he might retire to his estate, where he would enjoy the protection of the amnesty. It was in virtue of this answer that he passed the frontiers. Old Barentin, the chancellor of France, took the oaths, and the vice-chancellor d'Ambray, quitted the king, and retired to his estates in Normandy, from whence he wrote several letters containing protestations of his submission to the imperial government.

I have been assured by Napoleon's most confidential officer, that after the Champ de Mai, the greater part of the king's house of peers begged to be admitted members of the new house. “For,” said he, “it was the opinion of the French, “even of those who had enjoyed the most “important situations under the royal government, that the true government was “the one chosen by the people, and *not* that

“ imposed by foreigners. I have read,” con-
 tinued he, “ the speeches of the ultra-roy-
 “ alists ; they certainly declaim with great
 “ violence ; there is not one of them, how-
 “ ever, whom Napoleon has not restored to
 “ his native land ; whom he has not rescu-
 “ ed from the miseries of exile, and who
 “ is not more or less indebted to *him*
 “ for the fortune which he enjoys. There
 “ is not one of them who did not submit
 “ to the conditions of the amnesty, and
 “ take whatever oaths were required, and
 “ the greatest number of them, had aban-
 “ doned for ten or fifteen years, the man they
 “ now call master. There is not among the
 “ present judges, one who would not have
 “ pronounced sentence of death against any
 “ of the princes of the House of Bourbon,
 “ who had violated the prohibition against
 “ entering France,” continued he, “ nor a
 “ single citizen, who, sworn upon their
 “ juries, would not have condemned them
 “ to the pain of death.”

I asked, what became of Marshal St.
 Cyr, and the Duke of Reggio, when the
 king was out of France? “ Both one and
 “ the other,” replied he, “ took the oath of
 “ fidelity to Napoleon in April 1815 ; both

“ were extremely assiduous in their atten-
 “ dance at the Tuilleries; both dined at
 “ court, and both endeavoured to be em-
 “ ployed in the campaign of 1815.” But,
 said I, how came it, that *that Duke of Reg-*
gio, called by the Bourbons their *Bayard*;
that St. Cyr, who is their minister of war,
 did not follow their master to Ghent? this
 surprises me. “ Because,” replied he, “ no
 “ Frenchman in his heart acknowledges
 “ the Bourbons as legitimate sovereigns.
 “ Even the Duke of Ragusa, if he had not
 “ been excepted from the amnesty, would
 “ have remained in France, and never
 “ passed the frontier. This is the religion
 “ of the French; national opinion is deci-
 “ dedly pronounced upon it. Are you,”
 continued he, “ desirous of having an
 “ idea of the spirit which animates the
 “ French? Suppose, for example, that a
 “ million of Russians, Austrians, Prussians,
 “ Germans, Dutch, French, Spaniards and
 “ Portugueze, seconded by a few traitors,
 “ who, under pretence of serving the
 “ *Stuarts* should have joined them, had in-
 “ undated England and crowned a *Stuart*
 “ in London, first marching over the
 “ bodies of thousands of the brave defen-

“ ders of their country, who had gloriously
 “ fallen in the struggle for independence!
 “ What pray would be your feelings for
 “ such a king, imposed upon you by the
 “ wrath of an enemy? Such feelings,” added
 he, “ as in that case you *would* have, be
 “ assured, the French *now possess!*”

I have the honor,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER X.

Cape of Good Hope,
5th June, 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

I HOPE you will be satisfied with the eagerness I have shewn, in gratifying your curiosity, and in making you acquainted with the truth of the different objects which have struck you in the course of Doctor Warden's work. Indeed, I may say, that the labour of it has not been great, as, for a length of time, I have been occupied in collecting the materials, which chance has afforded, by throwing some most valuable documents into my hands.

This letter will conclude the series. You wish to be made acquainted with whatever occurrences may have taken place since July 1816. The task is a very painful one. I have already explained to you, in my fifth letter, in what manner matters were arranged, and, although every thing was not quite so well as could have been wished, Plantation-House not being allotted them,

nor the liberty of the whole of the little rock, yet still they were treated with attention and regard, and received whoever they thought proper. Napoleon had it in his power to amuse himself occasionally with the society of the inhabitants, of the officers of the army and navy, and also with that of a great number of strangers who arrived; a great resource, especially to Madame Bertrand. Since that period, every thing has been changed; they scarcely receive any person, and no longer go out. It is impossible for me to go into minute details, they would be excessively afflicting to an Englishman, and which, if known, would excite a general feeling of indignation. In order, however, not to leave you entirely in the dark, I will relate to you such general details, as my memory furnishes me.

Three commissioners, Austrian, French and Russian arrived at St. Helena on the 17th of June 1816, in the Newcastle and Orontes frigates, along with Admiral Malcolm. Some weeks after this, the governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, announced their arrival at Longwood, and communicated the treaty of the 2d of August 1815, concluded be-

tween Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. It appears that Count Montholon was ordered to protest against the treaty, which he accordingly did in a letter, comprising a declaration, that Napoleon was not the prisoner of England; that after his abdication he came freely and voluntarily to England, with a view of living there as a private individual under the protection of the British laws; that the violation of those laws, could not constitute a right; that although his person was actually in the power of the English nation, yet he never had been, nor was he then, in the power of either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, which states, consequently, had neither in fact, or in right, any controul over him; that it exhibited only the coalition of the four greatest powers of Europe, for the oppression of one man. It also stated the different treatment, which, in all probability, Napoleon would have experienced, had he been either in the power of Austria, Russia, or even Prussia, and the erroneous ideas he had formed of the influence of the opinion of a great, generous and free people over their government, which had induced him to prefer

the protection of their laws to that of a father-in-law or an old friend ; that he always had had it in his power to secure every point which regarded himself, either by putting himself at the head of the army of the Loire or that of the Gironde ; but that wishing for nothing but retirement, he had conceived all stipulations unnecessary, and that they would be more bound by this conduct on his part, so noble, frank, and full of confidence, than by the most solemn treaty. It also alluded to the uselessness of the mission of the above-named commissioners, who, it appeared, had no right to interfere in what was going on in the island ; and complained of the hardship he experienced in being sent to a rock two thousand leagues from Europe in a climate most inimical to his health, and which was rendered still worse by the restrictions imposed by the new governor in prohibiting all communication with the inhabitants or even the officers, and making Longwood a close prison. It also complained of the unnecessary hardship they experienced in being deprived of any other newspaper than a few straggling copies of the Times ; of books, sent by their authors,

not having been allowed to reach Longwood; of letters unsealed having been given to the governor, for the purpose of being sent to persons at Longwood, but which had not been communicated by him, because they did not come through the channel of the English ministry; of the impossibility of communication by letter in consequence of the forms they were obliged to go through, and of the general tenor of the restrictions, which, it was alledged, could have no other object in view than that of shortening Napoleon's life; of the badness of the situation at Longwood, devoid of water and shade, until Admiral Malcolm caused a tent to be erected by his sailors; and suggesting the propriety of having placed him, in the first instance, at Plantation-House. It concluded with an answer to a demand made by the governor of ten or twelve thousand pounds yearly from Napoleon in addition to the eight thousand pounds allowed yearly by the British government; and stated that Napoleon was willing to pay the whole of the expences himself, provided he was allowed communication with bankers, without being subject to any in-

quisition on the part of the governor or any of his myrmidons.

It appears that Lord Bathurst, in one of his letters settled the expences of *Longwood* at *eight thousand* yearly, out of which *five hundred* pounds a year was to be paid the purveyor for salary; *five hundred* pounds more for the carriage of provisions from the town to Longwood; *seven hundred and thirty* pounds for the orderly officers and surgeon at Longwood, and *one thousand* pounds for the expence of repairing the house, which is old and in need of continual repairs: making in all *two thousand seven hundred and thirty pounds*, and leaving *five thousand two hundred and seventy* pounds for the other expences of the establishment, which, considering the enormous price of every article of life in St. Helena, might be equal to about *one thousand* pounds a year in England. The governor, however, conceived with good reason, that this sum was altogether insufficient, and deeming *nineteen* or *twenty* thousand pounds a year necessary, he required of General Montholon, by a letter dated the 17th of August, the difference

between that sum and *eight thousand* pounds a year allowed by the government ; to which a reply was made in the above-mentioned letter, and notwithstanding the addition of *four thousand* pounds a year made by the governor, all the provisions were reduced in quantity ; three French domestics, who were extremely useful, were discharged ; and Napoleon, wanting wherewith to purchase articles of provisions, of which so scanty an allowance was made that the maitre d'hotel declared, that there was not enough by one third, ordered his plate to be broken up and sold to the value of one thousand pounds ; and I have been informed that eight or nine hundred pounds more of it, in value, is destined for the same purpose. I have myself seen this plate, which was extremely handsome, and the workmanship of it was worth more than four times the intrinsic value. Every body wished to get a morsel of it, and several of the captains of the Indiamen offered ten times the value, in order to have an entire piece.*

* To the honour of Admiral Cockburn, it ought to be known that on his return to England he represented the *inadequacy of the allowance for the decent maintenance*

The commissioners were not introduced at Longwood, although, it is said, that Napoleon, in refusing to receive them as commissioners, had nevertheless consented to receive them as strangers, and in a way similar to those with which he received others. Upon this subject, it is supposed, that Sir Hudson Lowe and the commissioners, have written to their respective governments, and still wait their instructions.

Shortly after this, Napoleon addressed a letter to Count Las Casas, a little before the latter went to the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that Las Casas had entrusted to a native of the island, who intended to go to England, a letter for a lady in London, containing complaints against the governor. I have been informed, however, by persons,

of Napoleon and his numerous suite; and declared Napoleon would be obliged to sell his plate to defray the unavoidable expence of his establishment. This anecdote we have from *official* sources, and *we can affirm* its authenticity. Napoleon shewed he possessed dignity and good feeling in the sale of plate, which became a splendid reproach, when those who followed his fortunes, were suffering hardships which its produce might diminish. Lord Bathurst obtained a triumphant vote in parliament; but the honor of the country cannot be redeemed by misrepresentation.

who have seen the letter in the governor's possession, that there was nothing in it which might not have been publicly written.

I have not been able to obtain the whole of Napoleon's letter, but I furnish you with as much of it as my memory affords. In it, he expresses his regret " at the treatment
 " Las Casas had experienced in being dragged
 " away from Longwood, and put in close
 " confinement for so many days, deprived of
 " all communication ; that his conduct at
 " St. Helena had been, like the rest of his
 " life, honorable and creditable to him ;
 " that he was authorized, by the conduct
 " of the governor, who had reproached him
 " for expressions which he had confided to
 " the bosom of friendship, to take the steps
 " which he did, in order to forward his letter to his friend, which besides contained
 " nothing more than what had already
 " been expressed in six or seven letters ; no
 " plot, no mystery ; and was by no means
 " sufficient to authorise the violent and blustering conduct which had taken place ;
 " that Longwood was enveloped in a veil of
 " mystery and secrecy, which it was desired
 " to render impenetrable, in order to conceal the conduct of a man, making the

“ most contemptible regulations, and execut-
 “ ing them with violence; that in the most
 “ uncivilized countries exiles, prisoners, and
 “ even criminals, were under the protection
 “ of laws and magistrates ; but that in St.
 “ Helena, one man had the power to
 “ ordain and to execute without appeal ;
 “ and concluded by desiring him, how-
 “ ever necessary his society might be to
 “ himself, to return to his native country,
 “ and forget the woes which he had been
 “ made to suffer ; and to embrace his (Napo-
 “ leon’s) wife and child for him, should he
 “ meet with them; adding, that his body
 “ was in the power of his enemies, who
 “ would omit no opportunity of wreaking
 “ their vengeance upon him, but that a just
 “ Providence would interpose, and put a
 “ speedy end to that existence, of which the
 “ last moments would reflect disgrace upon
 “ the author of his persecution.”

Some time before this, Sir Hudson Lowe
 thought proper to establish a new code of
 regulations (worthy of Notary Ray) by which
 he lessened the extent of the limits, formerly
 allowed, by about two thirds, under the idle
 pretence, that Napoleon had never made
 use of them since his arrival; and of the

portion which he still allowed to remain, the *high road alone*, was to be used to the French people; they were prohibited from leaving it, to go either to the right or left, and (will Englishmen credit it?) *Napoleon and his suite were actually prohibited to speak to any such persons as he or they might meet, unless so far as the customary salutations of politeness in use amongst civilized beings!*

Persons who might obtain a pass to visit Napoleon, were also prohibited from making use of such pass, to communicate with any others of his court unless such permission was specifically expressed in the pass; so that Napoleon, if he received a stranger, who could not speak French, was not, according to this silly and affronting regulation, authorized to call upon Las Casas or any other of his attendants to interpret! Centinels were placed round the garden at sun-set, in such a manner as to preclude Napoleon's taking exercise in it, at the only time that such can be done with pleasure in a tropical climate, (particularly at Longwood, which is totally void of shade) without being exposed to the prying gaze and idle curiosity of his keepers; during the day another centinel was posted in a

situation from whence he could observe whatever was going on in the garden, in such a manner, that even in the day, he could not stir out, without being subject to the inspection of private soldiers; and in a letter to Bertrand, every communication, even verbal, with the inhabitants, was prohibited.

It appears that after these restrictions had been put in execution, Napoleon declared, "that conceiving all laws, and every consideration of respect towards him were violated, he had refused to receive the governor again, regarding him in no other light than that of a turnkey."

It is to be lamented, that Sir Hudson Lowe should have been instigated to measures so absurdly violent, so wantonly severe, and so completely in contradiction to what had been asserted in parliament. But the advocates of ministers argue, that if these had approved of the regulations which had been in force for nine months, and had not ordered any new restrictions, in that case the governor must have acted from his own authority; and if so, certainly in a way that reflects but little honor upon him, and wholly unjustifiable.

As you observe, the discussion of the bill occupied a considerable degree of attention, and great difference of opinion was expressed about it. Some, in criticising it, declared it to be framed with a harshness without example in modern history ; others blamed merely the forms and manner in which it was drawn up, and said, that the bill ought not to abandon its illustrious object to arbitrary power, but ought to have established certain limits to the right of imposing restrictions ; but all agreed in saying, that, First, according to the contents of that bill, the restrictions should be deliberated upon by a council of the ministers, and not made and unmade by Lord Bathurst alone ; Secondly, that the governor of St. Helena, ought only to be empowered to execute *such* restrictions, and not to have the right of establishing new ones, by his own authority ; Thirdly, that a council, composed of the governor, the admiral, the general officers, colonels in the army, and captains in the navy, who might be in the island, ought to be formed, for the purpose of hearing the complaints of the French officers and domestics, and

to be made acquainted with every thing which concerned them ; Fourthly, this council ought to be charged to make themselves acquainted, with what circumstances required, the restrictions to be put in practice. By these means, our government would never have to dread the inconveniences inseparable from arbitrary power. *One* man may be capricious, passionate, hasty and cruel, and prone to abuse authority confided to his arbitrary will. Is not the meanest soldier in a regiment, the meanest sailor in a ship, or the lowest slave, under the protection of magistrates, tribunals, forms of law, known to the public, and to the constitution ?

Every feeling mind agreed also, that it never could have been the intention of either the parliament, or the nation, to impose useless restrictions ; that to insult an illustrious enemy at our mercy, was to insult the nation itself ; and that the restrictions ought to have but one object in view, namely, that of preventing his escape from St. Helena. Now, if this is true, five sixths of the restrictions which have been imposed are purely vexatious, without use, and contrary to the will of the na-

tion. It is difficult to conceive also, why the ministers refused to allow the governor the sum which he thought necessary and had required, viz. £20,000, yearly; it certainly ought to have been furnished, and the prisoner's plate ought not to have been accepted. This last was bought up by order of the governor, who, in that, had, without doubt, a political reason, probably, to prevent its being purchased piecemeal, to be preserved as precious relics, which every one knew would have been the case. His predecessor had regulated the expences in a manner that they had, I believe, amounted to about £17,000 a year.

Finally, the detention of Napoleon at Saint Helena, costs about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year to the treasury, to maintain a lieutenant general as governor, a brigadier general, a numerous staff, battalions of artillery, and of the line; a powerful squadron, &c. &c. and besides these expences, the restrictions which are imposed upon ships cramp the trade of India, and occasion losses much more considerable than the expences themselves; and for what purpose? that Napoleon may enjoy a greater degree of liberty

in his confinement? He would be much better off if confined in a house in England or Scotland than in St. Helena, with the liberty of the whole island ; because, in the first place the climate of the tropics cannot be compared in any place with that of Europe ; and that of St. Helena is destructive to health, witness the great number of deaths in the sixth regiment in a very short space of time. In the next place, food even barely fit for use is with difficulty procured at St. Helena. Spend as many thousands as you will, it is still impossible to accomplish what you wish, the provisions necessary to life are often bad and damaged. In fact, that which a respectable citizen of London would consider indispensable to his table, is not to be had in St. Helena. In a prison in England newspapers can be had, and a library, and the prisoners are allowed to hear of their relations frequently. At St. Helena, they are deprived of almost every thing. It is true, that about fifteen hundred volumes have been sent out to them ; but fifteen hundred volumes are very insufficient for people, reduced to make letters and the sciences their comfort ; even twenty thousand volumes would not compen-

sate the advantage of having in Europe in forty-eight hours whatever books might be wanted. Finally, in England they would know of their relations and friends, which at St. Helena is nearly impossible. Counts Bertrand and Montholon assured me, that for several months they had not received a line, and could not attend to the affairs of their families and other private concerns.

In consequence of the new restrictions, Napoleon for several months did not stir out of his apartments, that is to say, out of four small badly constructed unwholesome rooms, or out of a house, an equal to which, in badness, it would be difficult to find all over England: it is therefore to confine him within four walls under a tropical sun that our treasury expends more than twenty thousand pounds sterling a year, and that our commerce experiences so much detriment.

During the first ten months I had every facility of going to Longwood, but in October it was very difficult to obtain leave. It was necessary first to undergo a long examination as to the nature of your business. In December, I obtained, after

many difficulties, a new pass to go there. I saw Madame Bertrand, who complained bitterly of not being able to see any body, and of even the society of the English officers being prohibited. I saw also General Gourgand, with whom I conversed for a long time; he appeared very much surprized at the new system of treatment they experienced. I could not succeed in seeing Napoleon, who had not received any one or even stirred out of the house.

One of his suite told me, that their prospect was so much darkened, and their situation so much changed for the worse since the departure of Admiral Cockburn, that Napoleon had observed, that being at St. Helena was not the worst of their miseries, and that the choice of the abode was no longer the worst torment which had been put in execution against him; adding that there was nothing English in the manner in which he was treated, that it resembled more the police of Sicily.

All feeling and reasonable people agree that the precautions lately put in practice are unjust, ridiculous, even oppressive to the military who execute them, and that by carefully guarding the outlets

of the ravines leading towards the sea-side, following Napoleon by signals whenever he went into the interior of the island, and guarding the sea-coast in the manner now practiced, by boats and brigs, every point in regard to safe custody would be attained with the greatest possible simplicity and success, which is all that human prudence and wisdom can require under such circumstances.

Farewell, my dear Lady C——. I could tell much more upon this subject, which would both surprize and grieve you. The spectacle of persecution and injustice has been always revolting to me. You may judge then, what I felt, when I beheld the victor of sixty great battles, once the arbiter of many nations and their rulers, thus basely tormented. I said within myself, “I respect
“ thee with the crown of thorns that force
“ has now placed on thy brow, even more
“ than when numerous diadems encircled
“ it.”

I have the honour,

&c. &c. &c.

THE END.

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London 1817

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